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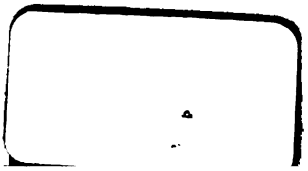

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THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

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THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

HENRY CABOT LODGE, PH.D., LL.D. EDITOR

FRANCE

Revised and edited from the work of

ÉMILE de BONNECHOSE

by

EDMUND MORROW FLING, PH.D.

Professor of European History
University of Nebraska

Volume IX

Illustrated

John D. Morris and Company
Philadelphia

THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

Painting by Stanley Berkley

CHARGE OF THE SCOTS GREYS

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CHARGE OF THE SCOTS GREYS AT THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

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INTRODUCTION

THE study of history, when history is rightly understood, becomes something more than a pastime. An accurate and detailed knowledge of the past of society is the indispensable foundation of historical consciousness, and to a people that would play a rôle in world society historical consciousness is as important a requisite as personal experience to the successful individual. The peoples that have made history and the peoples that are making history furnish the most convincing proof of the truth of this assertion. Historical consciousness in a people consists in an exact knowledge of its complex relations with contemporary peoples and of the relation of its own social life to the social life of the world that stretches back through thousands of years. Just as the great captain of industry is distinguished from the day laborer by his comprehensive and accurate acquaintance with the world of affairs, so the great peoples of to-day — the English, the Germans, the French and the Americans—are distinguished from the peoples of Africa and Asia by their highly developed historical consciousness, by the knowledge of their complex relations with the present and the past. The great awakening in historical study during the past generation was no accident; it is one of the conditions of leadership in the struggle for supremacy in the affairs of the world. To-day a world society exists; it is the product of all the past, and an accurate and detailed knowledge of the relations of each part, of each people, to the whole, to the present and to the past of that whole, is the condition of self-preservation, and cannot be disregarded with impunity. If examples are needed they may be found in Japan and China. The historical consciousness is more highly developed in Japan than in Russia, and very poorly developed in China. Japan has saved herself, saved China, and wrecked the prestige of Russia.

As we are part of a great world society, the history of the peoples that have made that society is a portion of our own history,

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and we can neglect it only at our peril. We must make their experience our own by serious and sympathetic study, and we must profit by that experience. That "peoples learn nothing from history" never was absolutely true, and it becomes less true with each evolving century. Never in the history of the world was so large a body of trained experts engaged in the work of developing historical consciousness by supplying it with exhaustive and detailed knowledge concerning the past as to-day.

Of all the historical peoples, none, with the possible exception of Greece and Rome, has had a past more valuable for its social experience than the people of France. Its history stretches over two thousand years, twice as long as the existence of the Roman republic and empire among the Latin speaking peoples, and it has dealt successfully with social problems that the Romans were incapable of solving. Possibly they could not have been solved at that time; the point is that there is social experience to be found in the history of France that cannot be found in that of Rome.

Apart from all practical value, what could be more fascinating to the inquisitive mind than to trace the long and varied process by which the complex, social unit that we call France was evolved from the disparate elements that originally existed on the soil of Gaul or were introduced from contiguous countries? Concerning all the details of the process, historians are not as yet agreed, or these details are not yet—perhaps never may be fully—known to them; but the main outlines are easily intelligible. The ethnic elements out of which the people was constituted; the steps by which territorial unity was reached; the manner in which language, law, administration, manners and customs were rendered homogeneous; the relations of this territory to surrounding territories, how it was defined and defended by centuries of struggles—all of these things we know. We know too what the influence of France has been in this larger world of which it forms a part, and what it is contributing to the solution of the social problems of our own day.

The French people are a historical product, and although the process of formation has occupied thousands of years, the end is not yet. Among the living human beings that call themselves Frenchmen are descendants of the most unlike races. The rude cave-dwellers of the stone age, the half civilized Gauls, the cultured Romans, and the barbarous Germans have all contributed to the

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making of this people. The dominant element has been the Celtic. The change is still going on, but the process is a silent one, unlike the rude shocks that introduced the Roman and German elements into the population. In 1901 there were over a million foreigners residing in France, and in 1896 the population contained more than two hundred thousand naturalized Frenchmen. The significance of such figures is not fully realized.

The unification and delimitation of the territory of France were two of the conditions of social union and of political independence. Territorial unification was practically complete at the end of the fifteenth century; if the incident of Alsace-Lorraine is not yet closed, the question of delimitation is still a serious problem for France. In the formation of the territory, the chief rôle fell to the kings, who, struggling against decentralizing tendencies, finally formed one great state directly subject to themselves out of many discordant parts. The task was completed when the national assembly, in 1789 and 1790, abolished the provinces and divided France into departments. The struggle for natural boundaries led to wars for centuries with all of the surrounding peoples, with England, Spain, Germany, and Italy. The Hundred Years War gave France its Atlantic coast, but Calais was not recovered until 1557. The Spanish frontier was not fixed until the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Italian frontier received its last rectification in 1860, and the frontier along the Rhine was modified as late as 1871.

The evolution of a homogeneous language for the whole French people is not yet fully effected. The original Celtic was displaced by the popular Latin; the Latin was transformed into various French dialects, and for six hundred years the dialect of the region about Paris has been making the linguistic conquest of the rest of France. The conquest is not yet complete; there are still remote districts in which aged men and women talk a language unintelligible to the mass of the French people (Brittany and Provence, for example). But that will soon pass away. Railroads and schools are fast changing all that, and old men who speak French but poorly are proud of the fact that their children read and speak the language fluently.

The kings of France that gave it territorial unity did much for the development of homogeneous institutions within its borders.

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The centralized government of Rome had given way to feudal decentralization in the making of laws, the administration of justice, the coinage of money, taxation, and the organization of the army. In all of these things the kings by the labor of centuries substituted centralization and uniformity for the chaos of conflicting practices. The work of the kings was completed by the revolution.

As Rome gave to France its language and law, it also gave to it its religion. Pagan Gaul was converted to Christianity under the empire, and although the settlement of the Burgundians and Visigoths in Gaul, with their unorthodox Arianism, introduced a discordant element into the Church in the west, the conversion of the Franks to the dogmas of Rome was a victory for orthodoxy and led to the suppression of the Arian belief. By his support of the Church the King of France won the title of "His Christian Majesty," and the French showed their religious zeal by the prominent part they took in the crusades. The religious devotion of the kings of France did not prevent them from becoming sturdy defenders of the rights of the state against the encroachments of the Popes and of the independence of the Gallic church. The Reformation, apart from the political complications that attended it, never seriously threatened the supremacy of Latin Christianity in France. The Huguenots were deprived of their political independence by Richelieu and of their religious freedom by Louis XIV. The Revolution led to a temporary separation of church and state, but Napoleon restored their old relations. They were finally separated in 1905.

The contributions of France to the products of human culture have been as noteworthy as the work in social organization. It has produced a literature and art worthy of a place by the side of the literature and art of Greece; it has produced great philosophers, historians and scientists. Its tongue was for a long time the common language of cultured and diplomatic Europe.

In the very beginnings of its history the inhabitants of the country now called France made themselves felt far and wide in Europe. The Gauls that invaded Spain, Italy, and Greece were but the forerunners of Louis XIV. and Napoleon I. They have established themselves in Africa and Asia and in North and South America, and rank among the first of the peoples that are dominat-

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ing the world, possessing the second largest navy and the third largest army, ranking after England on the sea and after Russia and Germany on the land.

France has done many things well that from the point of view of social evolution are worth doing, and her history should make clear by what ways and means it has accomplished these things. This book can but suggest the outlines of the human web that has been aweaving for these thousand years, and still is incomplete.

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PART I

FROM BARBARISM TO KINGDOM
58 B.C.-987 A.D.

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HISTORY OF FRANCE

Chapter I

INDEPENDENT GAUL AND ROMAN GAUL

TWO thousand years ago the country now called France was almost covered with immense forests and inhabited by a population of five millions, dwelling together in filthy villages or in primitive walled towns, and leading a half-civilized existence. The country was then called Gaul, and the inhabitants Gauls, but they had few interests in common and the terms applied to them by the Romans stood for a geographical rather than a social unity. To-day the forests have given place to wheat fields, vineyards, and olive groves; the population has increased eightfold; the towns and villages have become cities famous for their architectural beauty, their cleanliness, and the wealth of art treasures that they possess; the warring Gallic tribes have grown into a united, highly complex and self-conscious state. France has become the leader of the civilized world in literature and art, playing in the world society of to-day the rôle that Greece formerly played in the society of the Mediterranean basin. How this transformation was wrought, through what vicissitudes the French people passed in their struggles to become a nation, it is the purpose of this book to show.

The Gauls were not the primitive inhabitants of France, but represented one of the latest of the human strata that from time to time have been deposited upon her soil. Thousands of years before the founding of Rome, thousands of years before the existence of human records—how many thousands no man knows—even before the glacial period, human beings inhabited this region and left behind them as proof of their existence the uncanny evidence of their very bones and the objects cunningly wrought by their own hands. These remains drawn from excavations in different parts of France show that it was continuously inhabited from the most remote times until it became known to the people of the Mediterranean, and that it passed through the ages of cut and polished stone, of copper, bronze and iron. Although some of their

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descendants are found among the population of modern France, the names of these primitive peoples are unknown to us, nor can we determine their relationship to those who came after them and who are known to us by name. The evidence of their monuments would seem to justify the inference that they were part of the Mediterranean race that built up the first civilization around that inland sea and later spread over Europe and the British Isles.

The known predecessors of the Gauls were the Iberians, Ligurians and Greeks. The Iberians at one time occupied Italy, Corsica, Spain, and the south of France. Their descendants are the Gascons and the Basques—different forms of the same name—the Basques speaking even to-day the tongue of their Iberian ancestors, an agglutinative language similar to those spoken by the Hungarians, the Finns and the Lapps. The Iberians gave way before the Ligurians, who spread over Europe from the North Sea to the heart of Italy and of Spain. They had reached the former country as early as the twelfth century before Christ, but as late as 600 B.C. the Iberians still maintained themselves in southwestern Gaul. Liguria, on the gulf of Genoa, was the last place of refuge of the Ligurians, who disappeared before the advance of the Celts. The Greeks established themselves at the mouth of the Rhone as early as 600 B.C., when the Phocæan colonists founded Marseilles. From this city the Greeks spread along the coast to Italy and to the southwest as far as the straits of Gibraltar. They built up a considerable commerce, and for some time acted as middlemen between the Mediterranean world and the Gallic hinterland. The necessity of defending themselves against the Carthaginians led the people of Marseilles to ally themselves with the Romans, and it was as the ally of the Greek colony that the Romans first entered Gaul to protect the Greeks against their Ligurian neighbors. The presence of the Greeks in southern Gaul was not without its influence upon the development of the people. It was through them that the cultivation of the vine and the olive was introduced into the south of France; they also acquainted the natives with the Greek alphabet and taught them how to coin money.

The Celts—the name by which the Gauls were originally known to the Greeks and Romans—were in the fourth century before Christ the most powerful of the barbarian peoples of Europe. From the valley of the Danube, by successive migrations, they spread into Spain and Portugal, into Italy and into the East as far

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as the Black Sea, the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. In central Europe they evidently dominated the Germans. The waking of the Germans was the great fact of the third century before Christ. Under the impulse of the southward push of the Germanic tribes behind them, the Celts invaded Greece and Asia Minor, Italy and Gaul, but were unable to hold for any length of time much of the territory thus acquired. In Spain they gave way before the Carthaginians, in Italy before the rising power of Rome, and in central Europe before the Germans. In the second century before Christ little was left to them besides the region embraced by the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees and the Atlantic. It was in this century that the name Gauls, as applied to the Celts, first appears in the writings of the Romans. Gaul was the name of the country within the limits already mentioned. It was divided, as Cæsar stated, into three parts—Aquitania, Celtica, Belgium. Acquitanians, Celts and Belgians were known by the common name of Gauls.

Our knowledge of the state of Gallic society at the time of the Roman conquest is drawn largely from the "Commentaries" of Cæsar. In the portrait of the Gaul drawn by Roman writers are many traits that are noticeable in the modern Frenchman: "Courage pushed to temerity, an open mind, a sociable, communicative humor, taste and talent for oratory. . . . With that a blind enthusiasm, an insupportable braggartism, little continuity in their plans, little firmness in their enterprises, little constancy in reverses, of an extreme mobility, with little inclination for rule or discipline."

The organization of the Gallic family was similar to that of the Roman, the father having the power of life and death over his children and over his wife. Curiously inconsistent with this position of slavish insubordination were the property relations between man and wife. "Whatever sums of money the husbands have received in dowry from their wives," wrote Cæsar, "making an estimate of it, they add the same amount out of their own estates. An account is kept of all this money conjointly and the profits are laid by; whichever of them shall have survived the other, to that one the portion of both reverts, together with the profits of the previous time."

But two orders of men in Gaul possessed authority and dignity, the druids and knights. At the bottom of the social scale were the

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slaves. The great mass of the population, in a state of clientage, dependent upon the knights or nobles, "dared to undertake nothing for itself and was admitted to no deliberation." The nobles most distinguished by their birth and resources had the greatest number of vassals and dependents about them. The intrigues and wars of these great feudal lords kept Gaul in a state of perpetual discord. The druids were priests and ministers of justice. They conducted private and public sacrifices and interpreted all matters of religion. They also decided "concerning almost all controversies, public and private; and if any crime had been perpetrated, if murder had been committed, if there was any dispute about an inheritance, any about boundaries, these same persons decided it; they decreed rewards and punishments. If any one either in a public or in a private capacity did not submit to their decisions, they interdicted him from the sacrifices. Those who had been thus interdicted were esteemed in the number of the impious and the criminal. All shunned them and avoided their society and conversation, lest they receive some evil from their contact; nor was justice administered to them when seeking it, nor any dignity bestowed upon them." The druids did not go to war nor pay tribute like the rest, but were exempted from military service and had a dispensation in all matters.

The religion of the Gauls was a naturalistic polytheism. "They adored the forces of nature, conceived as so many animate conscious beings whose favor was conciliated by certain rites and formulæ." Lakes, rivers, brooks and trees were objects of worship. The list of the names of the gods of Gaul is a long one; of many of these we know nothing but the name. "The nation of the Gauls," wrote Cæsar, "is extremely devoted to superstitious rites; and on that account they who are troubled with unusually severe diseases, and they who are engaged in battles and dangers, either sacrifice men as victims, or vow that they will sacrifice them, and employ the druids as the performers of these sacrifices; because they think that unless the life of a man be offered for the life of a man, the mind of the immortal gods cannot be rendered propitious, and they make sacrifices of that kind ordained for national purposes. Others have figures of vast size, the limbs of which, formed of osiers, they fill with living men, which being set on fire, the men perish in the flames. They consider that the oblation of such as have been taken in theft, or in robbery, or any other offense, is

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more acceptable to the immortal gods; but when a supply of that class is wanting, they have recourse to the oblation of even the innocent."

The druids taught the immortality of the soul and its transmigration. "They looked upon the god of death (Dispater) as the father of all the Gauls . . . for is not death the source of life as well as its end?"

Grouped with the druids were two other classes of men, the eubages, or divines, and the bards. The first performed sacrifices and attempted to discover the secrets of the future; they were probably a suborder of druids, performing a part of the druidical functions. The bards were the poets and singers of the Gauls. While their functions are very clearly determined, their place in the sacerdotal hierarchy is not at all clear. Perhaps they formed no part of it. "They narrated the adventures of gods and men, the glories of the past and the present, the exploits of heroes and the shame of the coward, accompanying themselves upon a harp or lyre." They were the accredited interpreters of the national and religious tradition.

Among the Gauls each tribe had originally its special chief, who ordinarily assumed the title of king. Each tribe had also a species of military equestrian corps, composed of nobles or knights, and each of these nobles, according to his rank or standing, extended his protection to a number of retainers, men of free though inferior condition, who escorted him everywhere, followed him to the wars and were ready to die for him. Matters affecting the common interests of the whole community were discussed at certain periods, in an assembly formed by deputies from the different tribes.

About 300 B.C. the royal government was abolished in most of the cities of Gaul in the midst of revolutions. The warriors and the druids fought for supremacy and the whole of Gaul was weakened by their divisions. This intestine contest was still going on when, 154 B.C., the Greek inhabitants of Marseilles invoked and obtained the assistance of Rome against some Gallic tribes in the vicinity. In 121 B.C. the Romans, taking advantage of disputes which had broken out between the Ædui, the Allobroges and Arverni, gained two great victories over them under the leadership of the consul Fabius. A portion of the country of the Allobroges, Dauphiné, was reduced to a Roman province, as well as the entire

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seaboard of the Mediterranean as far as the Pyrenees. There the Romans founded, 118 B.C., a celebrated colony, that of Narbonne, and gave the name of Narbonensis to the province formed in the south of Gaul. They did not cross the limits of the colony until about the middle of the first century B.C. They had in the interval to repulse a formidable invasion of the Teutons, who were successfully checked by Marius, 102 B.C., near the city of Aix.

Forty years later came Julius Cæsar, whose victories in Gaul made him absolute master, not only of that country, but of Rome itself.

At the time of Cæsar's arrival the opposing factions in Gaul were the Ædui and the Sequani, of whom the latter had gained for awhile the preponderance in the country by the assistance of Ariovistus, King of the Suevi, whom they attached to themselves by presents and promises. The future conqueror first displayed himself to the Gallic nations in the character of a protector. They were menaced by a formidable invasion. Three hundred thousand Helvetians, after burning their own towns and ruining their own fields, so as to destroy all hope of return, had just invaded the country of the Sequani and the Ædui, and had fallen upon the neighboring Allobroges, when, summoned by these nations, Cæsar appeared at the head of his legions, defeated the Helvetians in three sanguinary engagements and drove them beyond the Jura, into the deserts they had themselves produced. Some time later the Gauls conjured him to deliver them from Ariovistus and his Germans, who, called in by the imprudent Sequani, were now oppressing their own allies and the whole of eastern Gaul. Cæsar responded to their appeal and marched against Ariovistus. The Germans were totally defeated and their army dispersed.

The domination of the Germans was succeeded by that of the Romans, and the Gauls, perceiving that they had given themselves a master in this formidable auxiliary, applied to the Belgians to deliver them from the Romans. The Belgians readily entered into a league with other Gauls, but Cæsar had made an alliance with one of their most important tribes, the Remi, and, introduced by them into the heart of Belgium, he crushed the confederates on the banks of the Aisne, and then well-nigh exterminated the Nervii, people of Hainault, beyond the Sambre, and the Aduatici, a people encamped between the Sambre and the Meuse. His lieutenant, Crassus, thereupon subjugated Armorica, and already the whole

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56-53 B.C.

of Gaul seemed conquered. But the resolutions of the Gauls were prompt and unforeseen. In the following year, 56 B.C., during Cæsar's absence in Illyria, the Veneti, relying on the situation of their towns, which were inaccessible by land and defended by an internal sea, the gulf of Morbihan, with whose ports, isles and shoals the Romans were unacquainted, gave the signal for revolt. The tribes of Armorica at once followed their lead, and the Britons also promised them assistance. Cæsar thereupon marched from Illyria, and, having built a fleet at the mouth of the Loire, sternly repressed the revolt. While Cæsar was thus subjugating Armorica, his lieutenant Sabinus occupied, after several engagements, all the territory between that country and the Seine, and Crassus, being also victorious in the south, between the Loire and the Garonne, and from the latter river to the Pyrenees, the whole of Gaul was again subdued.

After defeating 400,000 Usipetes at the confluence of the Rhine and the Meuse, Cæsar resolved to invade Britain, to punish the Britons for the assistance they had given the Veneti. He effected a landing and defeated the Britons in several engagements; but a tempest broke up and dispersed a portion of his fleet, and Cæsar found himself compelled to abandon the expedition and return to Gaul. This precipitate departure, in spite of several victories, resembled a flight. Cæsar consequently returned the following year, 54 B.C., with several legions and a formidable fleet. He landed without opposition, pursued the Britons into the interior of the island, fomented divisions among them, attacked, defeated and subdued them. He imposed an annual tribute, received their hostages, and returned with a multitude of captives and without the loss of a single vessel.

The Gallic war, in which up to this time most of the tribes had fought separately, appeared to be at an end. Unexpectedly they united, and it broke out again more terrible than ever. The two chiefs of the new confederation, which was first formed in Belgium, were Indutiomarus of the Treviri, and Ambiorix of the Eburones. The latter surprised a legion on the march and exterminated it, while the warlike tribes of the north of Cambresis and Hainault compelled another legion, quartered among them, to seek safety in an entrenched camp. Cæsar was a long way off, but he came in haste with only 7,000 legionaries, dispersed the multitude of Gauls, and liberated the camp. Winter suspended

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military operations; but both sides prepared for a new war. As soon as spring set in, Indutiomarus, the confederate of Ambiorix, marched against Labienus, who was quartered among the Remi; but the Gaul was defeated and his head sent to the general. Cæsar completely crushed the Treviri and then, marching through the forest of Ardennes, fell on the Eburones. In a few days this unfortunate people was annihilated, and the whole of northern Gaul appeared for the time pacified. In the same year the general assembly of the Gauls, presided over by Cæsar, was held at Lutetia, the capital of the Parisii.

As soon as Cæsar had recrossed the Alps, all the nations of Gaul, stung into revolt by the barbarities committed in Belgium, combined against the Romans under a young Auvergnat chief named Vercingetorix. The rising commenced with the massacre of the Romans quartered in the city of Genabum, now Orleans. Soon after this Vercingetorix, who had taken possession of the fortified town of Gergovia (Clermont) and called on the Gallic tribes to rise in self-defense, found himself at the head of a numerous army, with which he prepared to march against the Roman legions scattered through Belgium. Suddenly it was learned that Cæsar had reappeared in Gaul, and was now carrying fire and sword into Arvernia. Vercingetorix turned back to the defense of his native country, and Cæsar was enabled to join the forces in the north from whom he had been separated. After the juncture had been effected, Cæsar marched into the territory of the Biturges. To check his advance, Vercingetorix burned many of the towns, only Avaricum (Bourges), one of the most prosperous in Gaul, being spared. This town Cæsar soon took by storm, and then proceeded with his whole army to besiege Gergovia, where Vercingetorix had arrived before him. Cæsar attacked it with his accustomed vigor, but Vercingetorix drove the Romans in disorder into the plain. There they were surrounded, and would have been destroyed had it not been for the immortal tenth legion, which checked the advance of the enemy and enabled the fugitives to reenter their lines. This compelled Cæsar to raise the siege and withdraw beyond the Loire to obtain reinforcements. He even thought of retiring temporarily to the Roman province. Vercingetorix, however, moved rapidly forward to intercept the retreat of Cæsar, and came up with him. A battle took place, in which the Gallic leader was defeated and obliged to seek safety, with the

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relics of his army, behind the walls of Alesia, one of the strongest places in Gaul. Thither Cæsar immediately followed him.

The siege of Alesia is the most memorable event in the conquest of Gaul. Cæsar undertook it with forces inferior to those of the besieged, and carried it on in sight of 200,000 Gauls, who had hurried up from all points to succor the city, which, being already closely invested and suffering from the horrors of famine, despaired of deliverance. A supreme effort made by this immense army to crush the Romans and relieve the city was frustrated by the German horse in Cæsar's pay, who took the enemy in the rear just when the Romans were forcing them back in front. A panic terror seized on the Gauls. They fled in disorder, and fell in thousands beneath the swords of the Romans. Vercingetorix, being unable to prolong the defense of the city, surrendered to Cæsar, who sent him in chains to Rome. There he languished in prison for six years. Finally he died by the hand of the executioner. Gaul never recovered from the great disaster it had undergone at the siege of Alesia. One more campaign sufficed for Cæsar to extinguish the smoldering revolt in all parts of the territory and bring it completely under his power. Throughout the whole of this terrible war Cæsar had shrunk from no cruelty, however atrocious and unwarrantable, to accomplish his purpose; but once undisputed master of a country whose inhabitants he knew to be too brave to be held in slavery by rigor, he resolved to win them by entirely different conduct, and rendered their yoke easy. The country was reduced to the state of a Roman province, but Cæsar spared it confiscations and onerous burdens; the cities preserved their government and laws and the tribute he imposed on the conquered was paid under the title of "military pay." Reckoning on their support for the execution of his ambitious plans, he enrolled the best Gallic warriors in his legions, conquered Rome herself by their help, and gave them in recompense riches and honors. Even the Roman senate was opened to the Gauls.

Thus Gaul lost its independence and became a part of the world empire of Rome. Cæsar's successor, Augustus, who gave an organization to Gaul, maintained the division of the country into four great provinces, but changed their limits, and gave the name of Lugdunensis to Gallia Celtica, which was restricted to the territory contained between the Seine, the Saône and the Loire, and detached from it on the east a territory to which he gave the name

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of Sequanensis and joined to Gallia Belgica. The latter, when thus enlarged, had for its boundaries the Rhine, the Seine, the Saône and the Alps. Aquitania, hitherto enclosed between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, extended as far as the Loire; and lastly, Gallia Narbonensis was comprised between the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, the Cevennes and the Alps. Eventually, under Diocletian, the Roman empire was divided into four great prefectures. That of Gaul, whose chief city was Trèves, comprised three great dioceses or vicarships—Britain, Spain and Gaul. The latter was divided for the last time at the close of the fourth century into seventeen provinces, containing one hundred and fourteen cities. Gaul remained for four centuries subject to the Romans. Everything there became Roman; there were knights and senators, and the druids became priests of the Roman polytheism. The old laws disappeared, and in the fifth century there were few traces of Gallic institutions in Gaul. The Gauls transferred to the arts of peace that intelligent activity which for so many years they had fruitlessly expended in war, and Roman Gaul was for a long time flourishing. The forests were cut down; roads were made; new cities were founded, while those already in existence increased in extent and opulence. Lutetia, afterwards known as Paris, became the residence of the Cæsars, and schools, which soon became flourishing, were established in several cities.

Christianity was introduced into Gaul towards the middle of the second century by some priests from the church at Smyrna. The pious missionaries settled in Lyons about the year 160, and made many converts to the new faith. The Roman emperors, however, were hostile to Christianity, and amid the persecutions that they ordered no country counted more heroic martyrs than Gaul and no church was more fertilized by their blood than that of Lyons. Bishop Pothinus, ninety years of age, was stoned by the people, but Irenæus, surnamed the "Light of the West," collected at a later date the dispersed members of the church of Lyons, and towards the middle of the third century Christianity was carried into the rest of Gaul by seven bishops, who, leaving Rome, proceeded to various points of the Gallic territory. All of them acquired the crown of martyrdom. Among these the most celebrated was St. Denis, who halted on the banks of the Seine at Lutetia. He was decapitated near that city on Montmartre and interred in the plain which still bears his name.

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Gaul, subdued by the civilization of Rome as much as by her arms, was, under the first emperors, tranquil and resigned. But eventually the country suffered greatly through the disorders of the empire and the perpetual revolutions that shook it, and for nearly two centuries Gaul served as the battlefield for the generals who contested the empire. Already the numerous and formidable tribes, formed into a confederation in Germany, had tried on several occasions to reach the left bank of the Rhine, and had occupied, on the frontiers, the principal strength of the Roman armies. In this incessantly returning peril and in the midst of the general disorder, the ties that connected the provinces to the empire became daily relaxed and towards the middle of the third century Gaul made an effort to detach itself. The legions of the prefecture of Gaul recognized as emperor, about the year 260, one of their generals, of the name of Posthumus, of Gallic origin. He was assassinated, but had, during thirteen years, several successors, known in history under the name of the Gallic Cæsars. Tetricus, the last of these, betrayed his army, and surrendered himself to the Emperor Aurelian. After the voluntary fall of the Gallic chief, the Germanic tribes invaded Gaul and ravaged it. Devastated by barbarians, crushed with taxes imposed by the various candidates to empire, and exhausted of men and money, the country at length fell into the most miserable condition. So great was its desolation that freemen frequently made themselves serfs or slaves in order to escape the obligation of bearing a share of the public burdens. A revolt of the serfs, towards the close of the third century, was crushed by Maximian; but his victory did not restore life to the Gallic nation, for the decaying empire imparted its own distress to all the nations it had conquered.

Gaul breathed again, however, during a few years under the protecting administration of Cæsar Constantius Chlorus, who was called to the imperial throne in 305 by the double abdication of Diocletian and Maximian. After him, Constantine, his son, was proclaimed emperor by the army, and Christianity began its milder reign. Persecution ceased, and this prince, like his father, made great efforts to restore prosperity to the cities of Gaul and security to its frontiers, but the dissensions which troubled the empire upon his death drew down fresh calamities upon it. The barbarians drove back, as far as the Seine, the legions intrusted with the defense of the Rhine. Terror reigned in the ruined cities of Gaul, until

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Julian, by a memorable victory gained in 359 near Strasburg over seven Alemannic chiefs, freed Gaul for some time from the presence of the barbarians. He selected as his residence Lutetia and employed with indefatigable ardor the leisure of peace to repair the ravages of war.

But Gaul was destined to find no permanent help in the empire, powerless to defend its extended frontiers against the repeated attacks of the German. In the disintegration of the great world-state in the fifth century Gaul was possessed, almost without an effort, by the hardy tribes from beyond the Rhine.

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Chapter II

THE GERMANIC INVASIONS AND THE MEROVINGIAN KINGDOMS. 387-752 A.D.

IN the third century of our era three formidable confederations closed Germany, from the shores of the Baltic to the sources of the Rhine and the Danube, against the imperial armies and fleets—the Saxons in the north, the Franks in the west, and the Alemanni in the south, while the Goths were encamped on the left bank of the Danube.

All these nations, among which the Roman Empire of the West was eventually divided, did not attack it at the outset with the intention of destroying it. Impelled by irresistible causes to cross its frontiers, they were all eager to have their conquest legitimated by concessions and treaties which incorporated them with the empire, whose powerful organization and superior civilization filled them with astonishment and admiration. The Franks were among the barbarians who received large concessions of territory in Gaul long before the epoch assigned to their first invasion. Repulsed from the banks of the Weser by the Saxons, two of the principal tribes of the Frank confederation emigrated in the third century and drew nearer to the frontier of Batavia. The Romans gave these Franks the name of Salics, according to all appearance from that of the Isala, on whose banks they had been encamped for a long period. By favor of the civil wars and revolts which agitated northern Gaul at the end of the third century, they crossed the river and established themselves in Batavia. The Emperor Maximian, after attempting in vain to expel them from the empire, allowed the Salic Franks to settle, about 387, as military colonists, between the Moselle and the Scheldt. A few years later two other Frankish tribes crossed the Rhine in order to support the claims of the usurper Carausius to the imperial throne. Constantius Chlorus and Constantine his son contended against them for a long time, and the Emperor Julian, after conquering them, allowed them to found a military colony between the Rhine and the Meuse. These Franks

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were called Ripuarii, from the Latin word ripa, because they settled along the banks of the Rhine.

The Salic Franks and Ripuarian Franks occupied nearly the same respective positions in the fifth century. At this period the empire was divided between the sons of Theodosius, Honorius reigning at Rome and Arcadius at Constantinople. Gaul formed part of Honorius's share, and under this weak prince, in the west the empire gave way on all sides. A multitude of causes had hastened its dissolution. Anarchy was supreme in the state; the barbarians plundered that which they were badly paid to defend. In vain Rome humiliated itself so deeply as to become their tributary, endeavoring to stop by presents these rude foes against whom it could no longer effect anything by its arms or the majesty of its name. The work of destruction commenced, and in spite of a few fortunate days for the Roman arms, the invading forces never halted till they had swallowed up the empire, and even Rome itself.

The Suevi and Vandals entered Gaul in 406, and from that date up to 476, the epoch when a barbarian chief deposed the last emperor, Italy and Gaul were the scene of war and desolation, in which many peoples of different origin came into conflict. The Suevi and Vandals were followed by the Visigoths, or western Goths, from the left bank of the Danube, who, after ravaging one half of the empire and sacking Rome, obtained from the Emperor Honorius the concession of the southern territory of Gaul, situated to the west of the Rhone. The empire in the west was dismembered on all sides. The island of Britain had already been abandoned by the Romans, and the Armorican provinces of western Gaul rose in insurrection. In about the same period the Burgundians crossed the Rhine, and in 413 founded on Gallic territory a first Burgundian kingdom between Mayence and Strasburg.

Valentinian III. succeeded Honorius in 424, and reigned in sloth and indolence at Ravenna, to which city the seat of the Empire in the West had been transferred. Aëtius, brought up as a hostage in the camp of the Visigoth conqueror, Alaric, commanded the Roman armies. This skillful general, the last whom Rome possessed, had subjugated several barbarous tribes established in Gaul —the Franks, Visigoths, and Burgundians. But at this moment other barbarians poured over that country. The Huns, a Scythian people, the most cruel and savage of all, left the shores of the

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Euxine, led by Attila. Guided by the instinct of destruction, they are reported to have said of themselves that they were going whither the wrath of God called them. They entered Gaul and burned and devastated everything in their path as far as Orleans. They threatened Paris, and the Parisians attributed the salvation of their city to the prayers of St. Geneviève. Finally the Romans and Visigoths, allied under the command of Aëtius and Theodoric, compelled the Huns to retreat. Attila fell back into Champagne, and there, near Méry-sur-Seine, a frightful battle took place in the year 451. It was won by Aëtius. Merovius, Chief of the Franks, fought with the Romans and Visigoths on this memorable day, and contributed greatly to the victory.

Gaul remained the scene of brutal struggles between the different tribes that occupied the country, and each moment of repose was followed by a new and frightful crisis. For a few years longer Roman generals struggled to maintain a vestige of imperial authority in Gaul. Majorienus, proclaimed emperor in 457, had chosen as his lieutenant in Gaul and master of the militia, Ægidius, who belonged to one of the great families of the country and was distinguished by the most eminent qualities. Merovius, King of the Salic Franks, having died in 456, was succeeded by his son Childeric, who was proclaimed king in spite of his extreme youth, but was soon afterwards dethroned and expelled by the people who had raised him on the shield. The Franks, no longer possessing a prince of the royal race, voluntarily subjected themselves to Ægidius and recognized him as their chief. But Ægidius, having been declared an enemy of the empire by the Roman senate, the Franks recalled Childeric, placed him again at their head and helped in the overthrow of Ægidius. Childeric, at a later date, was himself invested with the dignity of master of the militia and fought for the empire against the barbarians who were rending it asunder. Thus, with the approval of the empire, did the Germans possess themselves of Gaul.

The empire terminated its lengthened agony between the years 475 and 480. Gaul, upon the fall of the empire, was divided between the Visigoths, under Euric, in the south; the peoples of Armorica, in the west; the Germans and Burgundians, in the east; and the Franks, in the north. The latter, still divided into two groups, the Salic and the Ripuarian, occupied nearly the same territory they had conquered, the possession of which had been confirmed to them

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in the two previous centuries. The Ripuarian Franks, who occupied the two banks of the Rhine, extended on the Frankish side of that river as far as the Scheldt. The Salic Franks occupied, between the Scheldt, the German Ocean, and the Somme, a territory which they had conquered under their king, Clodion, towards the middle of the fifth century. They were divided into three tribes or small kingdoms, the principal cities of which were Tournay, Cambray and Thérouanne. The chiefs, or kings, of these tribes all belonged to the royal race of Clodion and his son Merovius. The tribe of Tournay had acquired the first rank and predominant influence under King Childeric. A portion of Gaul between the Somme and the Loire had remained Roman, and maintained itself for some time after the fall of the empire, independent of the barbarians. It was governed at that time by the Roman general Syagrius, son of the celebrated Ægidius, the ex-master of the imperial militia. The Anglo-Saxons in this period, having invaded Britain, and established themselves in that island, a great number of the old inhabitants emigrated and settled at the extremity of the western point of Armorica. They were kindly welcomed by the natives, who had a community of language and origin with them. French Brittany derives its name from these expatriated Britons. About the same period a colony of Saxons, expelled from Germany, established themselves in lower Normandy, in the vicinity of Bayeux, while another colony of the same people, hostile to the Britons, occupied a part of Maine and Anjou.

Such was the state of Gaul when in 481 Clovis, son of Childeric, and grandson of Merovius, who gave his name to his dynasty, was elected King of the Salic Franks established at Tournay. His advent marks a new period in the history of Gaul. Under his rule the last remnant of Roman power disappeared and the different Germanic tribes were rendered subject to one ruler.

The success of the Franks in that part of Gaul which had remained subject to the Romans was partly due to the state of oppression into which the imperial government had plunged the people. Other causes favored their rapid progress in the countries occupied by the Visigoths and Burgundians. These were attached to the Arian heresy, while the nations they had conquered were maintained by their bishops in the orthodox, or Catholic faith. The bishops, bound to recognize as their pattern and head the bishop of Rome, and to contribute by the unity of religion to the unity of the empire,

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CLOVIS, KING OF THE FRANKS, RECEIVES THE HOLY SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM AT THE HANDS OF BISHOP REMEGIUS AT RHEIMS ON CHRISTMAS DAY, 496 A.D.

Painting by A. Zick

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493-506

still labored, at the period of the conquest, to retain under the authority of Rome, by the bond of religious faith, countries in which the bond of political obedience was severed. The Visigoths and Burgundians did not recognize the authority of the bishops, who had greater hopes of a nation still pagan and free from prejudices, as the Franks were at that time, than of tribes who, already converted to Christianity, refused to acknowledge their creed or take them as guides. Clovis, elected Chief of the Franks, soon seconded the wish of the bishops of Gaul by espousing, in 493, Clotilda, daughter of Childeric, King of the Burgundians, the only woman of the Germanic race who at that period belonged to the Catholic communion. This event influenced in the most profound manner the history of Frankish Gaul.

Soon after his election as King of the Franks, Clovis began a series of campaigns that rendered him master of Gaul. The first enemy attacked was Syagrius, the Roman general and governor of that part of Gaul still independent of the barbarians, whose capital was Soissons. Syagrius was conquered in 486, and the Franks extended their limits up to the Seine. Clovis then marched against the hordes of Alemanni, who were invading Gaul, and a battle took place in 496 at Tolbiac. Hard pressed in the early part of the day, he promised to adore the God of Clotilda if he gained the victory: he triumphed and kept his vow. Several thousand Frank warriors imitated their chief and were baptized on the same day. It was thus that the Catholic Church gained access to the barbarians. Clovis at once sent presents to Rome, as a symbol of tribute, to the successor of the blessed apostle Peter, and from this moment his conquests extended over Gaul without bloodshed. In his future struggles against Arian, Goth, and Burgundian, Clovis was supported by the orthodox population and the orthodox bishops of Gaul. All the cities in the northwest as far as the Loire, and the territory of the Breton *êmigrés*, opened their gates to his soldiers. The Burgundian bishops supplicated him to deliver them from the rule of the Arian barbarians, and in 500 Clovis declared war against the Burgundian King Gondebaud, made him his tributary and a convert to Catholicism.

Six years later Clovis turned his attention to the fair southern provinces occupied by the Visigoths. He negotiated with the Catholic bishops of these provinces and offered himself to the Catholic population of the country as a liberator and avenger. Then,

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marching southward, he terrified Alaric II. by the rapidity of his progress. This prince called to his aid his father-in-law, Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, who at that time was governing Italy with glory, but not daring, before the junction of their armies, to engage in a decisive action with the Franks, retreated before them. Clovis, however, pushing on, defeated Alaric's army in 507, near Vouglé, three leagues to the south of Poictiers. Alaric lost his life in the engagement. Before long the greater portion of the country occupied by the Visigoths, as far as the sources of the Garonne, obeyed Clovis. Carcassonne checked his victorious army. A portion of his forces, under the command of his elder son, Theodoric, marched into Auvergne, in concert with the army of the King of the Burgundians, and the combined armies subjugated the whole country as far as Arles, the capital of the Visigothic empire, to which they laid siege. In the meanwhile the Ostrogoths were approaching, and the Franks and Burgundians, retiring before them, raised the siege of Arles and Carcassonne. Peace was finally concluded, after a battle gained by the Ostrogoths. A treaty insured the possession of Aquitaine and Gascony to Clovis. Theodoric, as the price of his services, claimed the province of Arles up to the Durance, the Burgundians kept the cities to the north of that city, with the exception of Avignon, and the monarchy of the Visigoths was reduced to Spain and Septimania, of which Narbonne was the capital. The Franks, thus checked in the south by the Ostrogoths, marched westward into the country of the Armoricans, who submitted and consented to pay tribute. The Breton settlers alone defended the neck of land in which they had taken refuge and managed to retain their independence.

On his return from his expedition into Aquitaine Clovis fixed his residence at Paris. His attention was then turned to the north of Gaul, which was divided between the kingdom of the Ripuarian Franks, extending along the two banks of the Rhine, and the kingdom of the Salian Franks, enclosed between the Scheldt, the Somme and the sea. Clovis held under his authority two-thirds of Gaul, but was still unrecognized by the tribes of his own nation, with the exception of the Salic tribe of Tournay, at the head of which he had gained all his victories. Tournay, where he had alone succeeded in propagating Christianity, had become an episcopal see. The Salic Franks of the two other kingdoms, Cambray and Thérouanne, and the Ripuarian Franks had remained attached to pagan-

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509-511

ism. Clovis resolved to subjugate them. Religion had neither repressed his ambition nor softened his ferocity, and he employed cunning and violence to attain success. He incited Cloderic, son of his ally, Sigibert, King of the Ripuarians, to assassinate his father and proclaim himself king. Clovis, however, constituting himself avenger of the murder he had provoked, procured the assassination of Cloderic, and, hastening to Cologne, declared that the murders of Sigibert and Cloderic would expose the Ripuarians to great evils, unless they accepted his protection and placed themselves under his laws. His words were listened to, and the Ripuarians proclaimed him their king. He thereupon marched against the Salic tribes of Courtray and Thérouanne, whose chiefs, Chararic and Ragnachar, had maintained their independence, and subjugated them, rather by the aid of treachery than by the force of arms. Having obtained possession of the persons of Ragnachar and his brother Rignomère, he slew them with his own hand, and soon after caused Chararic and his two sons to be massacred in the city of Mans. Thus he became sole King of the Franks.

Among the later events of his reign was the meeting of a general council at Orleans, of the bishops of the provinces over which his authority extended. In this he confirmed the gift of immense dominions to the church, and gave great privileges to the clergy, the bishops in their turn making numerous concessions which would serve to strengthen the power of the king. After the closing of the council of Orleans Clovis, on returning to Paris, busied himself with the propagation of Christianity among the Frankish tribes which he had recently subjected in northern Gaul. It is supposed that the same period should be assigned to the Latin edition which he issued of the Salic Law, or, more correctly, of the customs of the Salian Franks, while modifying them so as to render them more in harmony with the new situation which he had made for his people in Gaul. The work of Clovis was now accomplished, and in the course of the same year, 511, he died at Paris, after bestowing fresh largesses on the clergy, and dividing his states among his four sons, Theodoric, Clodomir, Childebert, and Lothaire, who were all recognized as kings. Clovis thus destroyed the state that he had created.

Before continuing the history of the Franks under the race of Clovis, it will be advisable to take a glance at their religion, laws, and customs, and to explain the relations of the conquerors to the conquered. Royalty among the Franks was at once elective and

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hereditary: the title of king, in the German language (*könig*) merely signified chief, and was decreed by election. On the death of a king the Franks assembled for the purpose of choosing his successor. We have seen that they chose him from one family, that of Merovius, and that, when they had nominated him, they consecrated him by raising him on a buckler amid noisy shouts. The chief mission of the ruler they gave themselves was to lead them against the foe and to pillage. He received the largest share of the booty, frequently consisting of towns with their territory. This constituted the royal domain and the treasure with which the king recompensed his antrustions or leudes, the name given to the comrades in arms of the prince who devoted themselves to his fortunes and swore fidelity to him. These leudes formed a separate class, from which the majority of the officers and magistrates were selected. When a king died his sons inherited his domain, and, being richer than their companions in arms, were in a better position than other persons to secure suffrages. It was thus that the supreme authority was handed down from father to son in the race of Clovis, at first by election, and then by usage, which in time became law. The sons of Clovis, having all been recognized as kings, each took up his abode in the chief city of his dominions, so that there were from this time four capitals—Paris, Orleans, Soissons and Rheims. All these capitals, residences of kings, were chosen to the north of the Loire, in a rather limited space, because the countries in which they were situated were alone considered the land of the Franks. The provinces to the south of the Loire were still filled with reminiscences of the Romans. The great cities, far richer and more populous than those of the north, and brilliant with the relics of imperial grandeur, struck the barbarous Franks with a stupid astonishment. They found themselves uncomfortable amid the ruins of the civilized world, and hence they sojourned there only with repugnance.

The authority of the kings was purely military. The legislative power belonged to the entire nation of the Franks, who assembled in arms in the month of March or May, whence these *malls,* or national *comitia,* have been entitled "the assemblies of the field of March" and "the field of May." They took place regularly every year in the early period of the conquest, but when the Franks, after becoming landowners, were scattered over Gaul, they neglected to assemble, the kings ceased to convoke them regularly, and the

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legislative power passed into the hands of the monarchs, their officers, and the bishops. Each city was administered by its own municipality, under the direction of the bishop elected by the people and the clergy of his diocese. Justice emanated from the people. All the freemen in each district, designated by the name of armans or rachimbourgs, had the right of being present at the courts, where they performed the duties of judges, under the presidency of the royal officers, or centurions. No subordination existed between the several courts and no appeal was admitted. Each of the tribes that occupied the soil of Gaul retained its own laws. The Gallo-Romans continued to be governed, in their civil relations, by the Theodosian code, a collection of Roman laws drawn up by order of Theodosius II., and promulgated in 438. The Salian and Ripuarian Franks and the Burgundians each had a special code. The law which the Salian Franks obeyed, and which obtained from them the name of the Salic Law, was not drawn up till after the conquest, but it was based on maxims existing long anterior to the invasion of Gaul by the Franks. This law, moreover, established offensive distinctions between the races of the Franks and the Gallo-Romans. The reparation for the heaviest crimes was estimated in money. In this species of composition the law always valued the life of a Frank at double that of a Roman. Churchmen, however, were respected, and enjoyed many privileges. Under the sons of Clovis the penal laws became more severe, and the penalty of death was substituted in certain cases for fines. The law of the Ripuarian Franks, promulgated by Theodoric I., established compensation for offenses on principles similar to those of the Salic Law. The law of the Burgundians, called the *loi Gombette,* after Gundobad, its author, was more favorable to the old inhabitants than the laws of the Salic and Ripuarian Franks, and admitted of no distinction between the Romans and the conquerors for crimes committed against persons.

In Gaul, after the conquest, a distinction was made between the freemen as possessors of independent estates or owners of benefices, the colonists, and the slaves or serfs. The first among the freemen, whether Franks or Gallo-Romans, were the leudes, or companions of the kings, and possessors of the royal favor; after the freemen, or owners of the soil, came the farmers, who cultivated it in consideration of rent or tribute, and, lastly, the serfs, some of whom were attached to the person of the master, and others to the soil, with which they were sold like cattle. The clergy formed a separate

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and very powerful class. All the public offices which, to be properly filled, required learning and knowledge, were given to the churchmen, owing to their superior instruction. In this way they found means to increase the wealth which they derived from the liberality and piety of the faithful. The territorial estates were divided, among the barbarians, into two chief classes, allodia and benefices, or fiefs. The allodia were estates free from any charge, and belonging entirely either to the conquerors or the conquered. The benefices were lands which the kings detached from the royal domain in order to reward their leudes. The possession of benefices entailed the obligation of military service, and, at first, being only held for life, they could be recalled. The offices of duke and count, possessed by the first lords, were not transmissible by right of inheritance to their children. But after a time the bravest warriors, enriched by the royal favor, formed a dangerous aristocracy. They became more powerful in proportion as the royal authority grew weaker, and, their claims having increased with their power, they rendered their domains and titles hereditary in their families. This usurpation on the part of the nobles was one of the principal causes of the downfall of the Merovingian dynasty.

Devastating wars and frightful crimes marked the reigns of nearly all the descendants of Clovis. The sons of that prince divided his estates among themselves with barbarous ignorance, and this clumsy division was the source of bloody quarrels. Theodoric resided at Metz, the capital of the eastern Franks; Lothaire at Soissons, Childebert at Paris, and Clodomir at Orleans. The last three also shared among them the lands and cities conquered in Aquitaine. The first notable act of the new kings was the subjugation of the Thuringians, who had established a new monarchy on the banks of the Elbe and the Neckar. Theodoric and Lothaire defeated them in two battles, assassinated the Thuringian prince, put a part of the nation to the sword, and attached Thuringia to the territory of the Franks. Sigismund, son of Gondebaud, who forty years previously assassinated Chilperic, the father of Queen Clotilda, was reigning at this time in Burgundy. The widow of Clovis made her sons promise to avenge the death of Chilperic, their grandfather. Clodomir and Lothaire entered Burgundy, won a battle, and made King Sigismund a prisoner, and put him to death. Gondemar, brother of the conquered king, defeated and killed Clodomir, expelled the Franks, and was recognized as king by the Burgundians, over

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whom he reigned till the year 532. Lothaire and his brother Childebert then conquered him and took possession of the kingdom. These two princes sullied their character by a frightful crime after the death of their brother Clodomir, king of Orleans, who had left three children of tender age. Lothaire and Childebert coveted the inheritance of their nephews, and the former murdered two of them with his own hands. Clodoald, the third son of Clodomir, escaped from the fury of his uncles, became a monk, and founded the monastery of St. Clodoald, or St. Cloud. Theodoric I., the eldest of the sons of Clovis, died in 534, after ravaging Auvergne, which had tried to shake off his yoke. His son, Theodebert, succeeded him.

The empire of the Goths was at this period beginning to decline. Theodoric was dead. He left his two grandsons, Athalaric and Amalaric, between whom he divided his empire. Athalaric had the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy, with the provinces of Gaul up to the Rhone and the Durance; Amalaric, the son of Alaric II., reigned over the Visigoths in Spain and Gaul, from the base of the Pyrenees as far as the Lot and the Rhone. This prince resided at Narbonne, and espoused Clotilda, daughter of Clovis. Clotilda was a Catholic among an Arian people. Outraged by the populace, treated still more cruelly by her husband, she appealed to her brothers for protection. Childebert led an army of Franks to the frontier of Septimania, where he defeated the Visigoths. Amalaric fled to Barcelona, and perished there by assassination. Childebert gave up Narbonne to pillage, and then returned to Paris, loaded with the spoils of the rich province; but as he neglected to secure the possession, it reverted to the Visigoths. The Ostrogoths, after the death of Athalaric and his successor, Theodatus, had selected as their ruler Vitiges, the most skillful of their generals. They were at that time engaged in a war with Justinian, the Emperor of the East, who asked the support of the Frankish king, Theodebert I., son of Theodoric I., against the Ostrogoths. Theodebert, equally appealed to by the latter to help them against Justinian, passed the Alps at the head of a numerous army and received gold from both sides. Then, breaking his engagements, he assailed both armies, ravaged Lombardy with fire and sword, and snatched Provence from the Ostrogoths.

Theodebert was meditating an invasion of the empire of the east, when he died in 547, leaving the throne to his son Theodebald, who reigned only seven years. On the death of the latter, Lothaire,

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his great-uncle, seized his kingdom. His other grand-uncle, Childebert, jealous of this usurpation, set up against Lothaire his son Chramme, and at first supported him with his army, but himself soon fell ill at Paris and died. Lothaire inherited his kingdom, pursued his own rebellious son, and had him burned alive, with his wife and daughters. He had now succeeded his three elder brothers, and held under his sway the whole of Roman Gaul, in which were comprised Savoy, Switzerland, the Rhenish provinces, and Belgium. Septimania alone remained to the Visigoths. Lothaire's authority extended beyond the Rhine, over the duchies of Germany, Thuringia, and Bavaria, and the countries of the Saxons and the Frisians. He made no use of this power, and the only memorial that remained of the two years during which he governed alone the monarchy of the Franks was the murder of his son. Lothaire was taken ill in 561, a year after this horrible execution, and, amazed at the approach of death, is reported to have said: "Who is this King of Heaven who thus kills the great kings of the earth?"

Lothaire I. left four sons—Caribert, Gunthram, Chilperic, and Sigibert—who divided his states among them. Caribert lived but a short while, and left no male child. From his death dates a fresh division among the three surviving brothers. The country situated between the Rhine and the Loire was divided in two, as if a diagonal line were drawn from north to south, from the mouths of the Scheldt to the environs of Langres, near the sources of the Saône. The part situated to the west of this line was named Neustria (Neuster: west) and the other part, to the east, was named Austrasia (Ostro: east). Neustria fell, in the partition, to Chilperic, and Austrasia to Sigibert. Burgundy formed the third great division of Gaul, and was the share of Gunthram. Countries afterwards conquered were regarded as appendices of the Frankish empire, and it was arranged that a separate division should be made of them. These were Provence, Aquitaine, and Gascony. The first was attached to Austrasia and Burgundy and was divided between Sigibert and Gunthram; the second was divided into three parts, reputed equal, each of which formed a small Aquitaine; and, lastly, Gascony was divided between Chilperic and Sigibert, to the exclusion of Gunthram. The German provinces, governed by dukes nominated by the kings, were scarce taken into consideration in this division. They were allotted, with Austrasia, to Sigibert. The three brothers made a strange convention with

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567-575

regard to the city of Paris: owing to its importance, they promised that no one of them should enter it without the consent of the others. This celebrated division of the inheritance of Lothaire I. was made in the year 567, and from this moment commenced the long and bloody rivalry between Neustria and Austrasia.

Chilperic and Sigibert distinguished themselves by their fratricidal hatred, but were surpassed in audacity, ambition, and barbarity by their wives, whose names acquired a great and melancholy celebrity. Sigibert had married Brunhilda, daughter of the King of the Visigoths. Chilperic, surnamed the Nero of France, jealous of the alliance contracted by his brother, put aside the claims of his mistress, Fredegonda, in order to espouse Gaileswintha, sister of Brunhilda. He had, at this period, three sons by his first wife, Andovera, whom he repudiated and imprisoned at Rouen. Shortly after his second marriage he had Gaileswintha strangled, at the instigation of Fredegonda, and took the latter for his wife. Brunhilda swore to avenge her sister.

After an unsuccessful war against his brother Sigibert, the King of Neustria submitted, asked for peace and accepted a treaty, which he violated almost immediately afterwards by taking up arms again. Sigibert marched on Paris, which Chilperic had seized, laid the environs of the city waste, took it by storm, and forced his brother to shut himself up in Tournay, with his wife and children. The Austrasian army invested the latter town, and Sigibert declared that he would kill Chilperic. But he, wishing first to have himself elected King of Neustria, proceeded to Vitry, where he was proclaimed king, but in the midst of the rejoicings two emissaries of Fredegonda stabbed him with poisoned knives. He died, and his army dispersed. Chilperic regained his crown and entered Paris as a victor.

The widow of the assassinated King Sigibert, Brunhilda, was still in that city with her two daughters and her youthful son Childebert. By order of Chilperic she was arrested and kept as a prisoner with her children, but young Childebert was let down in a basket from a window of the castle and carried to Metz, where he was proclaimed King of Austrasia in 575, as Childebert II. King Chilperic sent Brunhilda with her two daughters in exile to Rouen. Here she was joined by Merovius, the son of Chilperic and the unfortunate Andovera, whom she married in secret. Chilperic, informed of the marriage, took umbrage at it, and hastened to

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Rouen, where he separated the couple. Brunhilda regained her liberty and fled into Austrasia, but Merovius was arrested by his father's orders, ordained priest, in spite of his protests and exiled to the monastery of St. Calais, near Mans. Escaping from his guardians, he tried to join his wife in Austrasia, but the Austrasian leudes drove him into Neustria, and at length, when just on the point of falling into the hands of his implacable father, he committed suicide.

Chilperic, after his reëstablishment on the throne, set no bounds to his ambition and cupidity. He invaded the states of his brother Gunthram during a war that prince was waging against the Lombards, but Gunthram, after defeating the Lombards, recaptured all the places which Chilperic had seized. Six years later a new invasion of the Neustrians into Burgundy was repulsed, and Chilperic perished soon after, being assassinated in the forest of Chelles. Of all the sons he had by Fredegonda, only one, Lothaire, survived him. The mother undertook the guardianship of her son, and, being menaced simultaneously by all the enemies her crimes had aroused against her, she placed herself, with her child, under the protection of King Gunthram.

Brunhilda was at this period disputing the guardianship of her young son, Childebert II., with the nobles of Austrasia. The Frankish kings had, up to this time, been accustomed to set one of their leudes over the officers of their house, as steward of the royal domains. This officer, who had the title of *major domo,* was at a later date called " mayor of the palace of the kings," and was merely their first officer. But after the death of Sigibert the Austrasian nobles, jealous of Brunhilda's authority, elected one of their number mayor of the palace and added to his functions that of presiding over them and watching the youthful king. Brunhilda tried in vain to oppose the haughty aristocracy who claimed a share in the guardianship of her son. She therefore restrained herself till Childebert was of the age to govern by himself, and inspired him with a profound dissimulation. It was not alone in Austrasia that a reaction was visible against the descendants of Merovius. Royalty was no longer in Gaul what it had formerly been in the forests of Germany. The descendants of Clovis had gradually usurped an arbitrary and despotic authority over their own comrades in arms and the Frankish aristocracy, which the aristocracy, grown powerful through their landed estates, struggled to resist. Hitherto

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floating, they had become fixed. They had acquired perpetuity with property. A multitude of freemen resorted to them for their support against the exactions of royal officers, and this patronage spread in spite of the prohibitions of the kings. The church itself, though it had at first favored the progress of the royal authority, grew weary of a despotism which no longer respected its immunities and privileges. The bishops leagued themselves with the principal feudatories.

A formidable conspiracy was thus formed against the kings of Austrasia and Burgundy. The aristocracy desired a ruler who would be a passive instrument in their hands, and turned their attention to a natural and unrecognized son of Lothaire I., Gondevald by name, who, fearing the suspicious jealousy of the kings his brothers, had sought a refuge at Constantinople, at the court of the Emperor Maurice. This man was induced by some of the feudatories of Burgundy and Austrasia to assert his claim to a share of the dominions of Lothaire I., his father, and, on his arrival, was enthusiastically received in the south of Gaul. The insurrection spread the furthest in those parts of Aquitaine subjected to the kings of Neustria and Burgundy. The most powerful men in those countries espoused the cause of Gondevald, who announced himself as heir of Lothaire I., but respected the claims of Childebert II. in Austrasian Aquitaine. Bordeaux, Toulouse, and other large towns opened their gates to Gondevald, and the larger portion of Gaul to the south of the Loire was gained over or conquered. Gunthram, terrified by the progress of the revolution, invited his nephew Childebert II. to join him against Gondevald and drew him into the alliance by adopting him as his heir.

On the approach of the formidable armies of Burgundy and Austrasia, defections commenced in Aquitaine, and Gondevald, abandoned by a great portion of the Aquitanians, was compelled to seek a refuge in the town of Comminges. After enduring a brief siege in this town, which nature and art had combined to render impregnable, his partisans, seduced by the gold and fair promises of Gunthram, surrendered him to the besiegers, who put him to death. But this treachery was of no advantage to the traitors. The Austrasio-Burgundian army penetrated into the town, and faithless inhabitants, priests, and soldiers all perished by the sword or by fire.

The two princes, uncle and nephew, then formed a new com-

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pact in a solemn assembly held at Andelot. The common interests of the kingdoms of Burgundy and Austrasia were regulated there, and the survivor of the two kings was recognized as the heir of the other. After this, King Childebert, encouraged by his successes in Aquitaine, by the support of Gunthram, and by the genius of his mother, Brunhilda, shook off the yoke of his leudes, and put several of them to death. While the youthful Childebert was signalizing his reign in Austrasia by deeds of violence, old King Gunthram was terminating his in Burgundy by reverses. His armies were defeated in Languedoc by the Visigoths, and fell back in Novempopulania before the Gascons, the ferocious mountaineers of the Pyrenees. The old king died in 593, and Childebert, his nephew and adopted son, succeeded him. He did not long survive his uncle. After attempting an invasion of Neustria at the instigation of his mother, Brunhilda, in which he was unsuccessful, he died in 596, leaving two sons of tender age, Theodebert and Theodoric.

At this time the three kingdoms of the Franks recognized as kings three boys. Lothaire II. reigned in Neustria, Theodebert II. in Austrasia, and Theodoric II. in Burgundy; the first under the guardianship of Fredegonda, the two others under that of their grandmother, Brunhilda. The implacable hatred of these two queens rekindled hostilities and in a great battle fought near Sens, by Fredegonda against the sons of Childebert, the Austrasians and Burgundians took to flight. Fredegonda entered Paris victoriously, reconstituted the old kingdom of Neustria in its integrity and died, after triumphing over all her enemies, either by the sword or by poison. Excited by their grandmother, the two brothers, Theodebert and Theodoric, formed an alliance against Lothaire II. and the united Austrasian and Burgundian armies came up with the Neustrians at Dormeille in the country of Sens. Lothaire was conquered.

Two years later Brunhilda, at the head of the Burgundians, gained another victory over the Neustrians at Etampes. Lothaire had all but fallen into her hands, when she learned that Theodebert, King of Austrasia, had treated at Compiègne with their common enemy, whom he had it in his power to crush. This peace saved the son of Fredegonda, but enraged Brunhilda, who from this moment only thought of punishing Theodebert. She armed Theodoric against his brother, and after a war that lasted several years, between the Burgundians and Austrasians, the two armies met on

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the already celebrated plains of Tolbiac. Theodebert was conquered, and fled, but fell into the hands of his brother, who put his young son to death before his eyes, while Theodebert himself was murdered by the orders of his implacable grandmother.

Theodoric died suddenly in the following year, leaving four sons, of whom Sigibert, the eldest, was scarce eleven years of age. Brunhilda undertook to have him crowned alone and to maintain the unity of his father's states by evading the custom of division. This attempt excited a rebellion, and the nobles summoned to their aid Lothaire II., King of Neustria. Lothaire was already on the Meuse, and marched to the Rhine. Brunhilda proceeded to Worms with her great-grandsons and sought support from the Germans. A portion of the Austrasian leudes had already passed over into Lothaire's camp: the others flocked round their king, in order to betray him more easily. The most distinguished of the conspirators were two powerful Austrasian lords, whose children became, by intermarriage, the founders of the second royal dynasty of France. They were Arnulf, afterwards canonized as Bishop of Metz, and Pippin, of Landen, a town in Hainault. Both Arnulf and Pippin, under the authority of the celebrated Warnachair, mayor of the palace in Burgundy, aided the success of the famous plot whose object was the overthrow of Queen Brunhilda and her race. The combined Austrasian and Burgundian armies met the Neustrians on the banks of the Aisne in Champagne. The conspirators then declared themselves. Lothaire II. was hailed as king by all the Franks, and three of Theodoric's sons were surrendered to him. He had the young King Sigibert murdered, with one of his brothers, he exiled another to Neustria, but the fourth escaped him, and never reappeared. Lastly, the haughty Brunhilda herself fell into the hands of the son of Fredegonda, who had her fastened alive to the tail of a wild horse, and thus dragged to death.

After the death of Brunhilda Lothaire II. united under his scepter the entire Frankish monarchy, but soon discovered that the unity of his vast empire was only apparent. The nobles of Austrasia, in overthrowing Sigibert, had thought much less about raising Lothaire than of aggrandizing themselves. They wanted a prince to reside among them, that they might direct him as they thought proper; and they forced the king to share his throne with his son Dagobert, and give them the latter as their sovereign. Dagobert, who had scarce emerged from infancy, reigned under the

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guardianship of Arnulf, Bishop of Metz. The most celebrated event in the reign of Lothaire II. was the council, or synod, of Paris in 614. The famous edict, which this assembly of bishops and nobles promulgated, forms an epoch in history, for it marked the success of the reaction of the latter against the kings, by shaking the system of arbitrary government, which the latter had tried to found.

One of the chief articles settled was that the judges, or counts, should always be selected from the landowners of the parts where their jurisdiction would be exercised. From this time the dignity of count belonged nearly always to the richest proprietor in each county, and the royal choice had narrow limits. But little more is known of the reign of Lothaire II. Wars broke out between him and his son Dagobert, whose independence he was compelled to recognize, and his life was ended in the midst of civil troubles. He died in 628, before he had been able to secure the establishment of his second son, Caribert.

The rule of Dagobert extended over the three kingdoms of the Frankish monarchy—Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy; and from these he detached Aquitaine, that is to say, the territory between the Loire, the Rhone, and the Pyrenees, and gave it to his brother Caribert. The latter soon died, and his eldest son was assassinated, it is said, by a faction devoted to Dagobert, who resumed possession of his brother's states. The unity of the Frankish monarchy was thus once again restored.

If a Merovingian king could have arrested the fall of his dynasty, Dagobert would have had this glory. Not one of the kings descended from Clovis caused his power to be more respected, or displayed greater magnificence. He had the Salic and Ripuarian Laws revised and written, as well as those of his Alemannic and Bavarian vassals. In the end, however, he gave way to debauchery and cruelty. He forgot the claims of justice, and imposed heavy tributes on his people. At the same time his arms were not successful. The Venedis, a Slavonic people, had established themselves in the valley of the Danube, the great commercial route between northern Gaul and Constantinople and Asia, where they massacred and plundered a large caravan of Franks. Dagobert marched against them to take vengeance for the deed, but his army was defeated, and the power of the Franks was shaken through the whole of Germany.

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633-656

Dagobert, from this time, confined his attention to keeping his own subjects in obedience. The Austrasians, ever ready to revolt, forced him to share his throne with his son Sigibert, three years of age, and give him to them as king, while another son, Clovis, was recognized as King of Neustria and Burgundy. In the last year of his reign Dagobert repulsed an invasion of the Gascons, repressed a revolt in Aquitaine, and made a treaty with the Bretons, who recognized his supremacy.

In spite of the reverses of his arms against the Venedis, and numerous causes of internal dissolution, Dagobert, who died in 638, remained to the end of his reign powerful and feared. He combined, like many of the princes of his race, a great fervor for religion and a superstitious devotion with licentious tastes. But despite all his vices, he surpassed in merit the majority of the princes of his family. When he died, a century and a half had elapsed since the elevation of Clovis to the throne of the Franks; and this period, marked by so much devastation and so many crimes, was the most memorable during the reign of the Merovingians.

After the death of Dagobert I., the Merovingian family only offered phantoms of kings, brutalized by indolence and debauchery, whom history has justly branded with the title of *rois fainéantes*. By the side of royalty had developed the power of the mayors of the palace, who ultimately took advantage of the weakness of the Merovingians to usurp *de facto* the entire authority. Elected by the leudes, they had for a long period been supported by them in governing the sovereigns; but when their power was thoroughly established they crushed the nobles, in order that there might be henceforth no other authority than their own. They then transmitted their office to their sons, and it was eventually regarded as the appanage of a family, in the same way as the scepter seemed to belong by right to the race of Clovis. On the death of Dagobert, Aega was recognized as mayor in Neustria, and Pippin of Landen in Austrasia.

To them was confided the guardianship of the two sons of Dagobert, the monk-like Sigibert II., and the debauchee, Clovis II., between whom his states were divided. These, in their turn, were succeeded in office by their sons—Aega by Erkinoald and Pippin by Grimoald. On the death of Sigibert II., Grimoald had tried to get the scepter into his family. He had the youthful Dagobert, son of Sigibert, conveyed to Ireland, concealed the place

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of his retreat, and dared to place the crown on the head of his own son. But the Austrasian nobles revolted against an authority which was independent of their choice, put Grimoald and his son to death, and recognized as their master the weak Clovis II., King of Neustria. This king passed quickly over the scene, leaving his scepter and empty royal title to Lothaire III., his elder son, who assumed sovereignty over the whole of his father's possessions.

The famous Ebroin was at that time mayor of the palace in Neustria, but he did not succeed in long maintaining the apparent unity of the monarchy. The Austrasian lords desired a king who, like his predecessors, should be subject to their influence. They summoned the youthful Childeric, second son of Clovis II., greeted him as King of Austrasia, and gave him for guardian the mayor, Wulfoald. The despotism of Ebroin soon drove the nobles of Neustria and Burgundy into revolt under Leger, the Bishop of Autun. The able mayor of the palace at first subdued the rebellion, but the death of Lothaire III. shook his power. He did not dare convene the nobles, according to custom, in order to elect a successor to this prince, who died childless, but he proclaimed as king, of his own authority, the youthful Theodoric, third son of Clovis II. The lords of Neustria and Burgundy were no more willing than those of Austrasia to see the mayors usurp the right of election to the throne, and they offered the crown of the two kingdoms to Childeric II., King of Austrasia. Ebroin, abandoned by all, was forced to take the tonsure, and was imprisoned in the monastery of Luxeuil. Theodoric III. was led as a prisoner into his brother's presence, and confined by his orders at St. Denis. Childeric II. removed his residence from Metz to Paris. This prince combined with the brutal passions of his degenerate race the energetic character of his ancestors. The nobles, most of whom he contrived to offend, formed a conspiracy against him, for inflicting on one of their order a dishonorable punishment reserved for slaves. The conspirators surprised the king, while hunting in the forest of Bondy, near the royal mansion of Chelles, and murdered him, with his wife and children. Ebroin came out of captivity, defended the weak Theoderic, and exercised for a long time an uncontrolled power. A formidable opposition, however, was organized against Ebroin in Austrasia. After the death of Childeric II., Dagobert, son of Sigibert II., was recalled from Ireland and placed on the throne. Imitating the last king, Childeric, in his treatment

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of the nobles, he was assassinated, and died without leaving an heir.

Among the murderers of Dagobert were several partisans and relatives of the old mayor, Pippin of Landen, whose grandson, the son of his daughter Legga, afterwards known in history as Pippin of Heristal, was recognized, during the interregnum which followed the death of Dagobert, as one of the chiefs of the aristocracy of the dukes and counts of Austrasia. The nobles triumphed in that country, and were crushed in Neustria and Burgundy. A multitude of exiles from these two kingdoms demanded vengeance of the dukes of Austrasia upon Ebroin, and a fresh collision took place. Neustria was victorious, but Ebroin was unable to reap the fruit of his victory. A lord, Ermanfroi by name, who had been proved culpable in office and threatened with death, anticipated Ebroin, by cleaving his skull with an ax, and fled to Austrasia, where Pippin of Heristal loaded him with honors. Ebroin, without scepter or crown, had reigned for twenty years, with a power that no king had exercised before him.

The feeble Theodoric was still reigning in Neustria, when the mayor, Waratho, and after him Berthair, succeeded Ebroin in his important office. The reins of government, on slipping from his powerful grasp, were relaxed in their feeble hands. Civil discord agitated Neustria; hope was re-aroused in the banished lords. They renewed their applications to Pippin of Heristal, who announced himself the avenger of the Frankish nobles and priests despoiled by the mayors of Neustria, and was proclaimed commander-in-chief. He encountered the Neustrian army at Testry, in the county of Vermandois, in 687, gained a great victory, and made prisoner King Theodoric. He recognized him as monarch of Neustria and Austrasia, governing in his name as mayor of the palace, after destroying the rulers of the party opposed to the nobles. After the death of Theoderic, Pippin crowned in succession his two sons, Clovis III. and Childebert III., and then his grandson, Dagobert III., but he was the real military chief and sole grand judge of the nation of the Franks.

The empire of the Franks began to break up after the battle of Testry. The Saxons, Frisians, Alemannians, Bavarians, and Thuringians, hitherto vassals of the Merovingian kings, considered themselves the equals of Pippin when they had contributed to his victory. Pippin contended against them, and, almost to his death,

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had to sustain long and arduous wars on all the northern frontiers, while Burgundy and Provence shook off his yoke in the south. The men of Aquitaine rallied under the celebrated Eudes, Duke of Toulouse, and descendant of the Merovingian Caribert, brother of Dagobert I., to whom they gave the title of king, and rendered themselves almost independent of the Frankish monarchy.

Pippin had two sons, Drogo and Grimoald, by his wife Plectrude, and a third, of the name of Charles, by his concubine Alpaiva. Drogo died in 708, so Pippin invested his second son, Grimoald, with the office of mayor of Neustria. An implacable hatred subsisted between the mothers of Charles and Grimoald, who became deadly foes. Grimoald was murdered when Pippin lay dying. He sprang from his death-bed, destroyed all the authors of the murder, shut up his son Charles, whom he suspected of being an accomplice, in Cologne, and established Grimoald's son Theodebald, who was hardly five years of age, as mayor of the palace. This energetic act exhausted his strength. "He died in 714," the annals of the Franks tells us, "after commanding for twenty-seven years and six months the whole Frankish people, with the kings subject to him—Theodoric, Clovis, Childebert, and Dagobert."

Pippin left at the head of the monarchy two boys—one king, the other mayor—under the guardianship of the aged queen Plectrude, the grandmother of Theodebald. The Neustrians revolted against Plectrude and her grandson and, choosing Regenfried as mayor of the palace, attacked and disarmed Austrasia. Pressed on all sides, the Austrasians in their turn deserted Plectrude and her son. Charles, the natural son of Pippin, escaped from prison and became the leader of the Austrasian Franks. Still, the name of the Merovingians possessed a certain prestige; and on the death of Dagobert III. both factions elected a pretended member of this degenerate race as king, Chilperic II. in Neustria, and Lothaire IV. in Austrasia. They nominally reigned, while the two real masters of these states, Regenfried and Charles, prepared for a struggle which terminated in favor of the latter, for by the memorable victory of Vinc, near Cambray, gained in 717, the whole of Neustria became his conquest. The Neustrians summoned to their aid Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, but Charles defeated the allied troops of Neustria and Aquitaine near Soissons, and pursued them up to Orleans. Lothaire IV., the puppet King of Austrasia, had just died, so Charles had Chilperic II., the imbecile King of Neustria,

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719-741

recognized as sovereign of the whole empire of Clovis. On his death, two years later, he gave him Theodoric IV. for a successor.

A terrible foe now menaced the empire of the Franks. Only a century previously Mohammed had founded a new religion in Arabia and formed a single state from the Arab tribes. Already the Mohammedan armies had invaded Asia, Africa, and Spain, and were advancing into Gaul. Narbonne soon succumbed to the Arabs, and they next menaced Aquitaine and the other possessions of Duke Eudes. This prince, however, gained two victories over the Saracens, but his states being again menaced by Abdul-Rahman, the leader of the Mussulmans in Spain, while he was still carrying on the war in the north of his states, against the invincible Charles, chief of the Franks, and feeling that he was too weak to contend against all these foes, and constrained to submit either to the Franks or Arabs, he proceeded as a fugitive to the court of Charles, recognized him as his suzerain, and obtained at this price the help of the Franks. Charles made a warlike appeal to all the warriors of Neustria, Austrasia and western Germany, and the formidable army thus raised encountered and completely defeated the countless hosts of Abdul-Rahman on October 10, 732, on the plains of Poitiers. The Arabs evacuated Aquitaine immediately after their disastrous defeat, and this day, forever memorable, on which it was said that Charles had hammered the Saracens, gained him the glorious surname of Martel, or Hammer, which posterity has retained. One of the results of this famous campaign was to restore the great province, or kingdom, of Aquitaine and Gascony to the monarchy of the Franks, by the oath of vassalage which Duke Eudes had made to his liberator.

Charles Martel now turned his arms against several tribes of Gaul that had ceased to obey the unworthy successors of Clovis. He subjugated the Burgundians, penetrated into Septimania, and, by the capture of two famous cities, Arles and Marseilles, completed the subjugation of Provence to the monarchy of the Franks. Under his government the hitherto unchecked progress of the clergy in power and wealth was arrested in Gaul, for he was bold enough to confiscate part of the estates of the church in order to furnish rewards for his warriors. He did not assume the name of king, but he appointed no successor to Theodoric IV., son of Dagobert III., whom he had crowned upon the death of Chilperic II. Death

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surprised him in 741, when he was undertaking an expedition into Italy, to succor the Pope against the Lombards. Before dying, he divided his authority among his three sons, Pippin, surnamed the Short, Karlmann, and Grifo.

Pippin and Karlmann dispossessed their brother, and divided the paternal heritage between them; but they soon saw that Charles Martel had not handed down to them with his power the prestige attaching to his formidable and famous name; and, in order to support their authority, they drew from the monastery the last of the Merovingians, who was proclaimed King of the Franks, by the name of Childeric III. Karlmann soon after became a monk, and entered the monastery of Monte Cassino; while Pippin, under the title of mayor of the palace, remained sole master of the Frankish monarchy. Having gained the favor of the Pope by offering to defend the Holy See against the Lombards, he obtained permission from him to assume the title of king, and was crowned in 752. He then assembled the general comitia at Soissons, and, relying on his own power, the name of his ancestors, and the Papal sanction, he was elected King of the Franks. Childeric III. was shorn and returned to the cloister, which he was never to leave again. Pippin founded a second royal dynasty, to be called the Carlovingian, after his father's name.

The power of the Merovingian kings had attained its apogee under Dagobert I. The Frankish empire had at that time for its boundaries the German Ocean, the Atlantic, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, the upper Danube, and the Rhine. The various nations inhabiting this territory recognized the authority of the Merovingian kings, some as being directly subject to them, others as tributaries.

The great divisions of the Frankish empire directly subject to the Merovingian princes were Neustria, the country of the west, and Austrasia, country of the east, whose limits, as already described, varied but slightly during the whole existence of the dynasty; Burgundy, which also comprised Provence, and extended from the southern frontier of Austrasia as far as the Cevennes, the Mediterranean, and the Alps; and Aquitaine, enclosed between the Atlantic, the Loire, and the Garonne.

Round these larger states were others governed by separate chiefs, who frequently gave the Frankish kings no other sign of submission beyond a slight tribute. These countries were to the

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THE LAST MERCVINGIAN KING, CHILDERIC III, FORCIBLY DETHRONED, RECEIVES THE TONSURE AND IS ENCLOISTERED, 752 A.D.

Painting by E. V. Luminais

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752

north of Austrasia, between the Rhine and the Weser, Frisia and Thuringia; to the east, Allemania and Bavaria; and to the west of Neustria, Brittany.

Two countries south of Aquitaine still contended for independence: these were Septimania, Narbonensis Prima, which could not be torn from the Visigoths, and Vasconia or Gascony. This country, which occupied a portion of Novempopulania, lower Languedoc, again formed, on the death of Eudes, a nearly independent state, which sustained, as we shall see in the reigns of the descendants of that prince, long wars against Pippin and Charlemagne.

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Chapter III

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE. 752-987

THE transition from hereditary mayor of the Franks to hereditary king of the monarchy was an easy one. The revolution that placed the crown on Pippin's head and founded a new line of kings was so natural that contemporaries did not realize its gravity." In this revolution an important part had been played by the Pope. The Lombards at that time possessed the whole northern part of Italy, and, at the time of the accession of Pippin, King Astolphe was contesting with Pope Zacharias the possession of the territory over which the Popes exercised temporal authority. Zacharias required a powerful supporter, and counted on the help of Pippin, if he could render him favorable to his cause. Consulted by some Frankish ambassadors concerning the relations of the *fainéantes* kings and the mayors of the palace, he replied that it was "better to call him king who had the kingly power." Pippin treated the utterance as a formal approval of his course. The Popes were not slow in claiming their reward. Stephen II. succeeded Zacharias. Menaced by the Lombards, he went to Pippin and implored his support. The king treated him with the greatest honor, and the Pontiff consecrated him a second time, with his two sons, Charles and Karlmann. In the sermon which Stephen preached on this occasion, he implored the Franks never to elect a king from any other family but that of Pippin, and excommunicated those who might be tempted to do so. Stephen had implored Pippin's assistance against Astolphe, King of the Lombards. The Frankish monarch collected an army, led it to Italy, was victorious, and ceded to the Pope the exarchate of Ravenna.

Pippin successfully waged long and sanguinary wars with the Bretons, Saxons, Saracens, and Aquitanians. The latter, more especially, offered him a stubborn resistance. After the defeat of the Saracens at Poitiers, Duke Eudes remained at peace with Charles Martel, whose suzerainty he had recognized. He died in 735, leaving Aquitaine to his elder son Hunold, and Gascony to his second son Otto. Hunold despoiled his brother of the greater part

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735-773

of his states, and resolved to break the bonds that subjected him to the kings of the Franks. He therefore waged war against Karlmann and Pippin, the sons of Charles Martel. In 745, however, when Pippin invaded Aquitaine at the head of a formidable army, Hunold laid down his arms and swore fidelity to the Frankish kings. Ultimately he abdicated in favor of Waifar, put on a monk's robe, and shut himself up in the monastery of the Isle of Rhé, where his father Eudes lay interred. The war was suspended for several years between Waifar and Pippin, but when the latter had brought the Italian war to a successful ending, and had annexed Septimania to the Frankish monarchy, he invaded Aquitaine. Then commenced a nine years' war, marked by frightful devastations, towards the close of which Waifar was assassinated by his countrymen. With him the name of Merovingians became extinct in history, and the grand-duchy of Aquitaine was again attached to the crown of the Franks.

Pippin bestowed great largess on the clergy, and through his whole life displayed the greatest deference to them. He frequently assembled the comitia of the kingdom, to which he always summoned the bishops, seeking to interest them in the success of his enterprises. His character may be summed up in a few words, by saying that he was brave, strong, moderate and prudent. Before his death in 768, when he had reigned seven years, he asked the advice of his nobles in dividing his estates between his two sons, Charles and Karlmann, and the result was that the assembly of nobles and bishops willingly recognized Charles as King of the West, and Karlmann as King of the East. Ambition soon armed Charles and Karlmann against each other. The death of the latter stifled the germs of civil war, and in 771 Charles usurped the states of his brother, to the prejudice of his nephews. The whole nation of the Franks from this moment recognized the authority of Charles, for whom his victories and great qualities acquired the surname of Great, or Magnus, and who is known in history by the name of Charlemagne.

During a reign of forty-six years this prince extended his country's frontiers beyond the Danube, imposed tribute on the barbarian nations as far as the Vistula, conquered a portion of Italy, and rendered himself formidable to the Saracens. He first went into Italy, on the entreaty of Pope Adrian I., and marched to assist him against Didier, King of the Lombards, whose daughter he had

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himself married and repudiated. He made this king a prisoner, himself assumed the iron crown, and put an end to the Lombard rule in Italy, which had lasted for two hundred and six years. Charlemagne during this expedition went to Rome, where he presented himself to the Pope, whom he had saved, kissing each step of the Pontifical palace. He believed himself called to subject to Christianity the barbarous nations of Europe, and when persuasion did not avail to the triumph of the faith, he had recourse to conquest and punishments. The Saxons formed at this period a considerable nation, divided into a multitude of small tribes. They were idolators, and among other acts of cruelty toward the missionaries who had gone among them, they burned the church of Deventer and all the Christians in it. Charlemagne heard of this, marched against them, and conquered them. After putting down several revolts against his authority, Charlemagne held, in 775, a celebrated assembly at Paderborn, where he obliged all the Saxons to receive baptism, and divided their principalities among abbots and bishops. Hence dates the origin of the ecclesiastical principalities in Germany.

After conquering the Saxons Charlemagne turned his arms against the Saracens. Civil wars had broken out among them in the eighth century, the Mussulmans being divided between the family of the Abassides, who resided at Bagdad, and that of the Ommiades, who governed Spain. The latter country, however, was agitated by factions, and one of them entreated the aid of Charlemagne against Abdul-Rahman, lieutenant of the Ommiade Caliph. On this Charlemagne sent two powerful armies into Spain, expecting that, according to promise, Saragossa would open its gates to his troops. His expectations were deceived. Saragossa did not open its gates; the faction who had summoned him to their aid rose against him and the king was compelled to order a retreat. The defiles of the mountains were held at the time by the Basques. They were governed at this by Wolf II., who had inherited the hatred of his race for the family of Charlemagne. When he saw the Frankish army, on its retreat, entangled in the defiles of Roncesvalles, he had it attacked by his mountaineers, who rolled stones and rocks down on it. The disaster was immense; the rear-guard was destroyed to the last man; and here, too, perished the famous paladin, Roland, who is hardly known in history, though so celebrated in the romances of chivalry.

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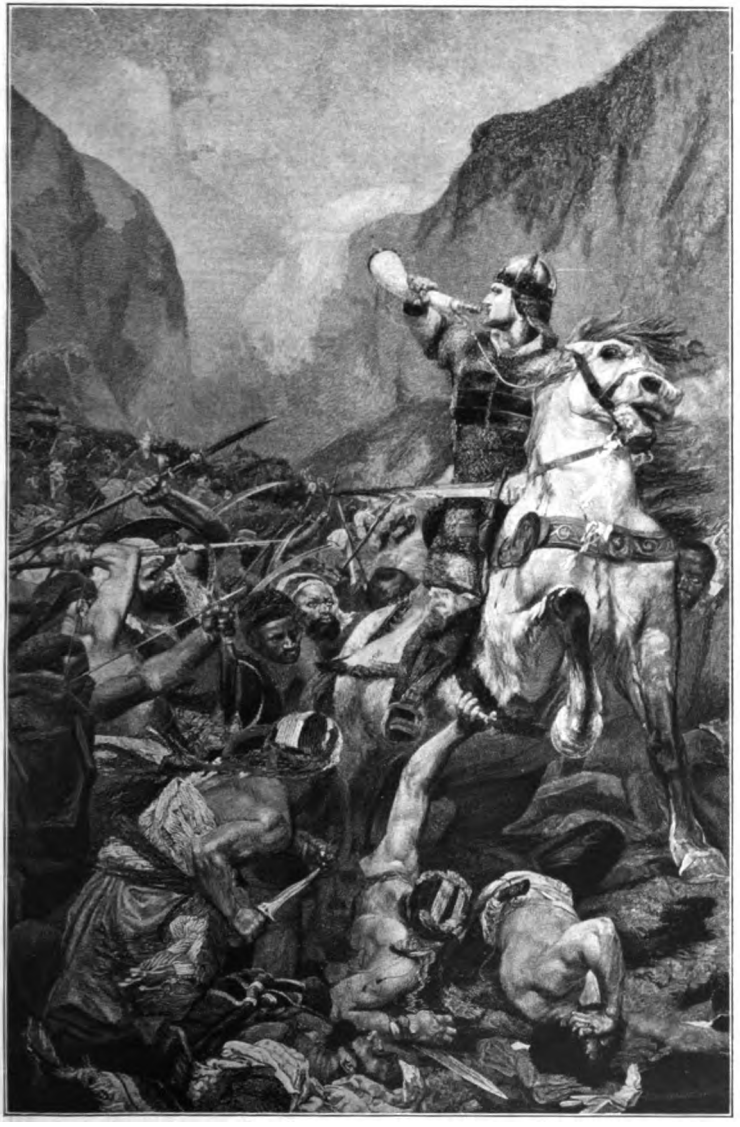

ROLAND, PALADIN OF CHARLEMAGNE, CALLS FOR SUCCOR IN THE BATTLE OF RONCESVALLES

Painting by Louis Guesnet

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779-804

Charlemagne continued in the following year the conquest of Saxony, which had again revolted and defeated his lieutenants. He subjected it once again in 782, and, in order to keep it in check by a terrible example, he beheaded, on the banks of the Aller, four thousand five hundred Saxon prisoners. The Frisians, the Bretons of Armorica, and the Bavarians next revolted and attacked Charlemagne simultaneously. They were, however, crushed by the Frankish monarch one after another, the independence of the Bavarians being destroyed, as that of the Lombards had been.

Charles had given Aquitaine, with the royal title, to his son, Louis, under the guardianship of William Shortnose, Duke of Toulouse. Three other provinces were equally subject to the authority of the young king. They were, on the east, Septimania, or Languedoc; on the west, Novempopulania, or Gascony; and lastly, on the south, the marches of Spain, as the provinces conquered by the Franks beyond the Pyrenees were called. These were divided into the March of Gothia, which contained nearly the whole of Catalonia, and the March of Gascony, which extended as far as the Ebro into Aragon and Navarre. This vast territory, bordered by the Loire, the Ebro, the Rhone, and the two seas, was attacked in 793 by the Saracen general Abdul-Malek, who defeated Duke William at the passage of the Obrin, and returned to Spain with immense booty. Charlemagne deferred taking his revenge. He was occupied with church matters, the opinions of the faithful being divided at the time between the second Council of Nicæa, which, in 787, had ordered the adoration of images, and the Council of Frankfurt, which condemned them in 794 as idolatry. Charlemagne energetically supported the decision of the last-named council, but Pope Adrian, who in reality supported the opinion of the Council of Nicæa, avoided the expression of any view, and evaded the question in order not to offend his powerful protector.

Charlemagne next turned against the Avars, a people inhabiting the marches of Hungary, who, after several disastrous expeditions had been undertaken to subdue them, were ultimately conquered by his son Pippin.

The Saxons had joined the Avars in this war. They had burned the churches, murdered the priests, and returned in crowds to their false gods. Charlemagne adopted against them a system of extermination, but the Saxons were not finally subdued till the year 804, after thirty-two years of fighting, revolt, and massacres.

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Charlemagne, in order to watch and restrain them the better, transferred his usual residence to Aix-la-Chapelle, which he made the capital of his empire.

Leo III. succeeded Hadrian I. in 795 as Pontiff. A conspiracy was formed to overthrow him in 799. Wounded and imprisoned, he escaped and fled to Spoleto, where he implored the help of Charlemagne, who made a last journey to Italy for the purpose of restoring to Leo his crown. Charles on Christmas Day was on his knees and praying in the cathedral of St. Peter; the Pope approached him and placed the imperial crown upon his head. The people straightway saluted him with the name of Augustus, and from that moment Charlemagne regarded himself as the real successor of the Roman emperors. After his coronation as emperor he had but insignificant wars to wage, and on attaining the supreme dignity he also reached the end of his most difficult enterprises. During the last eight years of his reign he promulgated decrees and instituted numerous administrative, ecclesiastical, judicial, and military institutions, which were all intended to strengthen the social order, and maintain all parts of his immense empire in union and peace. He convened, at the field of March, in the year 806, an assembly of the nobles of his kingdom, in order to arrange with them the partition of his states between his three sons, Charles, Pippin, and Louis. To the first he assigned the northern part of Gaul, with Germany; to the second he gave Italy and Bavaria, with his conquests in Pannonia; the third had Aquitaine, Burgundy, and the marches of Spain. This division, consented to by the nobles and the people, was sanctioned by the Pope.

The last years of Charlemagne were saddened by domestic sorrows. He had to blush at the irregularities of his daughters and lamented the death of his sons, Charles and Pippin. The first left no children, the second had one son, Bernard, to whom the emperor granted the kingdom of Italy. He next wished to have the youngest of his legitimate sons, whom death had spared, Louis, King of Aquitaine, recognized as his successor, and summoned him to the great September assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle. There he presented him to the bishops, abbots, counts, and lords of the Franks, and asked them to recognize him as emperor. All consented.

Charlemagne was attaining the close of his notable career. He devoted the last months of his life to devotional works, and divided

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814

his time between prayer, the distribution of alms, and the study of versions of the gospels in different languages. He directed this task up to the eve of his death, which was caused by fever toward the middle of January, 814. He had entered upon his seventy-second year, having reigned for forty-six years over the Franks, forty-three over the Lombards, and fourteen over the empire of the west. He was interred at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the church of St. Mary, which he had built.

The exploits and conquests of this great monarch, too often stamped with the barbarism of the age, are not his greatest titles to the admiration and respect of posterity. What really elevates him above his age is the legislative spirit and the genius of civilization, both of which he possessed in an eminent degree. Charlemagne undertook to substitute order for anarchy, learning for ignorance, in the vast countries that obeyed him, and to subject to law and a regular administration many nations, still savage, strangers to each other, differing in origin, language, and manners, and with no other link among them than that of conquest.

The perpetual wars which Charlemagne waged in order to maintain the unity of his immense empire, and substitute in it civilization for barbarism, originated from his victories themselves; and they rather bear testimony to the greatness of his efforts than to their success. His work remained incomplete, but his glory consists in having undertaken it; and if he did not complete it, it was because completion was impossible. Charlemagne understood that the most efficacious method of civilizing a nation is by instructing it; he consequently sought to restore a taste for letters and the arts. He encouraged the laborious tasks of the monks, who preserved the celebrated writings of antiquity by transcribing them; he even obliged the princesses, his daughters, to occupy themselves in this task. He founded and supported schools in many places, frequently inspected them himself, and examined the pupils.

He employed of preference, in affairs of state, those persons who were distinguished by their acquirements, and spared nothing to attract to his court men of letters and clever teachers. Among those who enjoyed his favor the most celebrated is the Saxon Alcuin, a prodigy of learning for the age in which he lived.

In the empire of Charlemagne a distinction must be drawn between the countries directly subject to the emperor and administered by his counts, and those which were only tributary. The

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former alone constituted the empire properly so called, whose limits were: to the north, the German Ocean and the Baltic, as far as the Island of Rügen; to the west, the Atlantic, as far as the Pyrenees; to the south, the course of the Ebro, the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Ebro, in Spain, to that of the Garigliano, in Italy, and the Adriatic, up to the promontory of Dalmatia; to the east, Croatia, the course of the Theiss, Moravia, Bohemia, a part of the Elbe, and a line which, starting from the angle which the latter now makes when turning westward, would run along the western shore of Rügen.

The immense country comprised between these limits was administered by the free counts. We must, however, except the Amorican Peninsula or Brittany, which was only tributary, as well as the country of the Navarrese and Basques, situated between the Elbe and the Pyrenees; the states of the church, or patrimony of St. Peter, governed by the Bishop of Rome; Gaëta, Venice and a certain number of maritime cities in Dalmatia, which were dependent on the Greek empire of Constantinople.

Along these frontiers was a number of tributary states more or less in a state of dependence on the emperor. The principal peoples were, in Italy, the Beneventines; in Germany, several Sclavonic tribes on the banks of the Danube, the Elbe, and the Baltic, up to the Oder. The scepter of Charlemagne also extended, in the Mediterranean, though not without perpetual and sanguinary conflicts, over the Balearic Islands, Corsica, and Sardinia.

Some provinces upon the borders bore, as we have already stated, the name of marches. They were the Western March (Austria), the March of Carinthia (the Duchy of Friuli), to which were attached all the countries to the south of the Drave, and the two Marches of Spain, Gothia and Gascony.

The empire that Charlemagne had built up fell to pieces almost as soon as his strong hand was withdrawn by death. It had been a personal task that he had undertaken; among his descendants none proved strong enough to bear such a burden.

Louis I., surnamed the Mild or the Pious, youngest son and successor of Charlemagne, has been aptly named "a crowned priest." At his father's death he was thirty-six years old. Unskillful in his conduct, and of weak character, but animated by a desire for justice and for the right, he hastened to order severe reforms; and ere he had established his authority on a solid basis he punished

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814-818

powerful culprits, and tried to destroy a multitude of abuses by which the nobles profited. The oppressed nations found in him a just judge and indulgent master. He protected the Aquitanians, the Saxons, and Spanish Christians against the imperial lieutenants, and diminished their taxes, to the injury of their governors. He reformed the clergy, by obliging the bishops to remain in their dioceses, and subjected the monks to the inquisition of the severe Benedict of Aniane, who imposed the Benedictine rule upon them. Lastly, as an example of good manners, he tried to avenge morality by expelling with disgrace from the imperial palace his father's numerous concubines, and the lovers of his sisters. But he could not keep either his court or his warriors in obedience, and his weakness for his wives and children occasioned long and sanguinary wars.

In the hour of danger all those whose interests he had violently injured leagued against him. The first insurrection took place in Italy. The emperor had shared the empire with his son Lothaire, with the assent of the Franks assembled at the comitia of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817; then he gave the kingdoms of Bavaria and Aquitaine to his other two sons, Louis and Pippin; his nephew Bernard remaining King of Italy. The latter, whose father was the emperor's elder brother, was jealous at the elevation of Lothaire, for he hoped, after his uncle's death, to obtain the imperial crown as chief of the Carlovingian family. A great number of malcontent lords and bishops invited Bernard to assert his rights, and collected troops. Louis marched to meet his nephew at the head of his soldiers. On his approach, Bernard, who was deserted by a portion of his followers, obtained a safe conduct from the emperor, and went into his camp, with several chiefs of his army. Louis, persuaded by his consort Ermengarde, had Bernard's accomplices tried and executed, while the unfortunate king himself was condemned to lose his sight, and did not survive the punishment. His kingdom of Italy was given to Lothaire. A few years later the emperor, in a national assembly held at Attigny, in 822, did public penance for this crime. From this period he only displayed weakness. The frontier nations insulted the empire with impunity; the Gascons and Saracens in the south, the Bretons in the west, and the Norman pirates in the north committed frightful ravages. Internal discord seconded their audacity: the imperial troops were defeated, and Louis saw his frontiers contracted in the north and south. In

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this way the kingdom of Navarre was founded at the foot of the Pyrenees.

Ermengarde, the wife of Louis the Pious, died in 818, and in 819 the emperor espoused Judith, daughter of a Bavarian lord. He had by her a son called Charles, to whom, in 829, he gave Alsace, Alemannia, and Rhaetia, which he formed into the kingdom of Germany. This drew down upon Charles the enmity of Lothaire, who looked with jealousy on the assignment of any portion of the imperial domains, which he considered *de jure* as his own, to his young half-brother, although he had sworn to his father to maintain Charles in the possession of any share that might be assigned to him. Shortly after, the majority of the nobles and bishops and the emperor's sons, Lothaire, Louis, and Pippin, jealous of the influence that Bernard, Duke of Septimania, and son of his old guardian, William Shortnose, exercised in the imperial council, declared war against the unfortunate Louis, who fell into the power of the rebels at Compiègne. Judith was confined by them in a convent; Bernard took to flight, and the emperor was placed in a monastery, while Lothaire seized the government of the empire.

The nobles were divided between Louis and his sons. The latter were supported in their revolt by the inhabitants of Gaul, while the Germans remained faithful to the emperor. A general assembly of the estates held in 830, at Nimeguen, pronounced in his favor and against his sons. Lothaire was reconciled to his father by sacrificing all his partisans to him. Louis began to reign again, and once more disgusted the nation by his weakness. His sons—Lothaire, Louis, and Pippin—revolted once again, took up arms, and marched against their father. Pope Gregory IV. was with them, and tried in vain to prevent bloodshed. The two armies met near Colmar; the emperor's troops deserted him. The unfortunate king fell into the hands of his son Lothaire, who, by the aid of a council of bishops, forced him to accuse himself publicly of sacrilege and homicide in the cathedral of Rheims, and humbly ask for absolution for his sins. As soon as this shameful ceremony was over, Lothaire conducted his father as a prisoner to Aix-la-Chapelle, the seat of the empire, a place which had formerly witnessed his grandeur and now witnessed his ignominy.

Louis the German and Pippin declared themselves the avengers of their outraged father, far less through affection for him than through jealous hatred of their brother; the latter, deserted by his

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833-840

partisans, took refuge in Italy, while the emperor, with the assent of the estates assembled at Thionville, resumed his crown. He pardoned Lothaire, but in 838, at the estates of Kersy-on-the-Oise, he for a second time benefited his son Charles at the expense of his elder brother, and Louis the German consented to cede a portion of his provinces to his brother. Pippin, King of Aquitaine, died in the course of the year. He left a son of the same name, dear to the Aquitanians, who recognized him as king, under the title of Pippin II. The emperor, however, had other projects. He secretly reserved Aquitaine for his son Charles. On his side, Louis regretted the concession which he had made at Kersy of the great portion of his estates to his brother, and had taken up arms again. The Germans had followed his banner to the right bank of the Rhine, but the armies of Gaul, composed of a mixture of men of the Gallic and German races established for a long time in that country, had remained faithful to the emperor. He crossed the Rhine at their head. The Germanic army disbanded without striking a blow; Louis retired into Bavaria, and the emperor punished him by reducing his inheritance to that solitary province.

The moment had arrived to secure Charles the share which his affection had always desired for him at the expense of his brothers. The empire was divided into two parts of equal size, destined for Lothaire and Charles. This new partition was proclaimed in a diet convoked at Worms in May, 839. It was effected by a line which, starting from the mouths of the Scheldt, ran along the Meuse up to its source, and the Saône as far as its confluence with the Rhone and terminated at the mouth of the latter river. The choice was left to Lothaire, who took the eastern half of the empire, comprising Italy, Germany, less Bavaria, Provence, and a small part of Burgundy and Austrasia; Charles had for his share Aquitaine, Neustria, and the rest of Austrasia and Burgundy. Louis was passed over in this partition, and Pippin II., the emperor's grandson, was despoiled. These two princes took up arms, and the emperor, while marching into Germany to encounter Louis, was attacked by an illness which brought him to the grave at the end of forty days. He died, 840, at Ingelheim, at the age of sixty-two. Louis the Pious was not born for the throne, though he had some of the qualities of a good prince. His morals were excellent, and he paid great attention to the administration of justice and the instruction of his people, but he possessed neither strength nor dig-

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nity, without which the supreme authority is but a vain word. His imprudent weakness for Charles, the son of his old age, occasioned wars which were only extinguished with his race. In order to ensure him a vast empire, he embroiled all the frontiers of his states, and this partition accelerated the outbreak of great calamities.

After the death of Louis the empire was plunged for ten years into anarchy. His three sons and his grandson, Pippin II., carried on an obstinate war against each other. The Emperor Lothaire united with his nephew Pippin to despoil his two brothers, Louis, who was called the German, and Charles II., who from this period was surnamed the Bald. The first possessed only Bavaria; the second was master of the whole of Germany. The combined armies of the two kings encountered those of Lothaire and Pippin near Auxerre, in the plains of Fontenay. Lothaire was conquered, but renewed the struggle. Louis and Charles met at Strasburg, where they resumed their alliance, taking oath in the presence of the people. A new partition was made soon after at Verdun, in 843, between the three brothers, and irrevocably separated the interests of Gaul as a power from those of Germany. Charles had the countries situated to the west of the Scheldt, Saône, and Rhone, with the north of Spain up to the Ebro. Louis the German had Germany up to the Rhine. Lothaire, renouncing all supremacy, but retaining the title of emperor, connected to Italy the territory situated between his brothers' states. By the Treaty of Verdun, three kingdoms had been created, France, Germany, and Italy, and the most fragile part of Charlemagne's work—territorial unity—was destroyed. The antagonism of nationalities was the result of the Treaty of Verdun.

So many commotions and combats completely exhausted the kingdoms formed out of the débris of the empire. The frontiers were abandoned to foreigners. The Normans, united to the Bretons, in the north and west, the Saracens in the south, laid waste everything with fire and sword. Rouen, Bordeaux, and Nantes were burned; the Normans reached Paris, and while terror kept Charles shut up at St. Denis, they plundered the capital and only left it to reappear there soon after in greater numbers and more formidable than before. These men of the north, called Danes in England, and Normans in Gaul, had remained pagans, and were still proud, even in the ninth century, of their title as sons of Odin.

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843-877

One of their chiefs, who was famous for his audacity and ferocity, the pirate Hastings, after ravaging France, penetrated into Italy and returned to spread desolation and terror through the whole country between the Seine and the Loire. Charles the Bald had intrusted the defense of this territory, with the title of Count of Anjou, to a celebrated warrior, Robert the Strong, who was already Count of Paris, and the founder of the family of the Capets, which afterwards occupied the throne of France. Robert, whom the chronicles of the time called the Maccabæus of France, was killed, and from that moment nothing arrested the devastating torrent. In the midst of the general weakening of the empire, the clergy alone increased their fortune and power. The real master of Gaul was Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. He it was who defended with the greatest success the authority of Charles the Bald against those who preferred to him his brother, Louis the German. The bishops supported the kings they had crowned; they governed in matters temporal as well as spiritual, in war as well as in peace. It was Hincmar who convoked, in the king's name, the bishops and counts to march against the enemy.

Lothaire I. had died in a monastery in 855, after sharing the empire for the last ten years with his son, Louis II., surnamed the Young, and giving kingdoms to his other sons, Provence to Charles, and the country contained between the Meuse, Scheldt, Rhine, and Franche Comté to Lothaire II. It was called, after the name of its sovereign, Lotharingia, whence we have the name of Lorraine, which has adhered to it. Lothaire II. died at Rome in 869. His three sons survived him but a short time, and Louis the German and Charles the Bald divided their estates between them. On the death of the Emperor Louis II., in 875, his uncle Charles the Bald seized the imperial crown. It was but the shadow of that worn by Charlemagne. The empire was exhausted. In the midst of the constantly increasing anarchy, the freemen, preferring security to an independence full of perils, made themselves the vassals of powerful men capable of defending them. As early as 847 the weak Charles the Bald allowed to be drawn from him the Edict of Mersen, which provided that every freeman could choose a lord, either the king or one of his vassals, and that none of them should be bound to follow the king to war except against foreigners. The king thus remained powerless and disarmed in civil wars.

Thirty years later the nobles completed the ruin of imperial

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and royal authority by obtaining at Kersy from the same king, then emperor, the celebrated decree which rendered it legal for the sons of counts who should die in an expedition about to be made into Italy to inherit the benefices and offices held by their fathers. For a long time past the counts or officers of the emperor, taking advantage of the general anarchy as well as of the ignorance and sloth of the sovereigns of the first and second races, had in the first place contrived to render their offices irrevocable, after the example of holders of benefices; then they transmitted them to their sons. But no law sanctioned this right of inheritance. Charles the Bald, by legalizing it, dealt the last blow to the authority of the sovereigns. Henceforth it was not the king who chose the counts, but the counts who disposed of the throne. The dismemberment of the empire was rapidly effected, and a new order of things, the feudal system, was the consequence of this edict—the last important act of the reign of Charles the Bald, who died in the same year (877) at a village on Mount Cenis.

The last descendants of Charlemagne nearly all proved themselves in weakness and nullity the rivals of the last Merovingians. Louis II., called the Stammerer, and successor of Charles the Bald in Italy and Gaul, lost in turn, through revolts, Italy, Brittany, Lorraine, and Gascony. He recognized the fact that he owed his title only to the election of the lords, bishops, and peoples. Louis the Stammerer left two sons, Louis and Karlmann, and a posthumous son, Charles. The first two were recognized as kings in 879; the elder, Louis III., reigned over the north of France, and Karlmann over the south. These two princes lived on good terms, but during their reign the Normans committed frightful ravages. At the same period Duke Boso, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, seized Provence, which was also called Cisjuran Burgundy, of which country he was proclaimed king by an assembly of bishops.

Louis and Karlmann both died very young, the first in 882, in an expedition against the Normans; the second in 884, while hunting. Neither left any male issue, and the crown devolved, by hereditary right, on Charles, who was only five years of age at the death of Karlmann. His youth caused him to be excluded from the throne by the nobles, who elected in his stead, as king, the Emperor Charles the Fat, son of Louis the German. This prince, by the death of his two brothers, and the three sons of Lothaire, his cousins, had inherited Germany and Italy: he joined Gaul to

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them, and the empire of Charlemagne was momentarily reëstablished in his hands. But he was only nominally emperor and king. The Normans braved him and attacked Paris. During the siege, Eudes, Count of Paris, and his brother Robert, distinguished themselves; both sons of the famous Robert the Strong, killed twenty years previously while fighting the same enemies. Their valor and the heroic efforts of Goslin, Bishop of Paris, insured the safety of the city, while Charles the Fat, at the head of an army assembled to save his people, made a cowardly composition with the foreigners, and allowed them to pillage his richest provinces. A cry of indignation was raised against him on all sides. He was deposed at the diet of Tribur in 888, and died the same year in indigence, deserted by all his friends.

A definite partition, which irrevocably completed the dismemberment of the empire, took place on the death of Charles the Fat. Italy became a separate kingdom: all the country comprised between the Fancelle Mountains (a transverse chain of the Vosges), the sources of the Rhine, and the Pennine Alps formed, under the name of upper Transjuran Burgundy, a new kingdom, of which Rodolph was the founder. Prior to this, Boso, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, had assumed the title of King of Provence, or Cisjuran Burgundy. This kingdom had as its limits the Jura, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Saône, and the Cevennes. Lotharingia, or Lorraine, was restricted between the Fancelle Mountains, the Scheldt, the Rhine and the German Ocean. Aquitaine extended to the Pyrenees, and the greater part of the territory enclosed between these divers states and Brittany henceforth retained the name of France. From this last dismemberment of the empire of the Franks dates the historic existence of the French nation. On the deposition of Charles the Fat, Charles, the third son of Louis the Stammerer, being still considered too young to be called to the throne, Eudes, Count of Paris, already celebrated by his defense of Paris against the Normans, was elected king by the nobles.

Eudes was always in arms, either against the lords of Aquitaine, who tried to render themselves independent, or against Charles, his youthful rival, who was supported by Arnulf, King of Germany. Eudes eventually ceded to him several provinces, and was about to recognize him as his successor when he died in 898. Charles III., who was surnamed the Simple from his incapacity,

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was then proclaimed King of France. The most celebrated act of his reign was the cession made in 912 of the territory afterwards called Normandy, to a formidable Norman chief, who is celebrated in history by the name of Rollo, and was the first Duke of Normandy. He paid homage to the king, was converted to Christianity, and divided his vast territory into fiefs. His warriors, whom he kept down by severe laws, became the fathers of a great people which was the firmest bulwark of France against the invasions of the northern races. Numerous revolts troubled the end of his reign. Robert, Duke of France, the brother of the late King Eudes, repenting that he had not disputed the inheritance of his brother with Charles the Simple, decreed the king's deposition, with the nobles of the land: and having assured himself of the support of the Emperor of Germany, Henry the Fowler, he entered Soissons with a band of conspirators, penetrated to the king's apartments, and made him a prisoner. He was rescued almost immediately by Hervé, Archbishop of Rheims, and after a short stay in that city he retreated to Tongres, in Lorraine. But his reign was at an end; his deposition was pronounced by the nobles at an assembly held at Soissons in 920, and Robert was elected king, and consecrated at the church of St. Remi, in Rheims (922). Charles called his partisans around him and his army encountered that of Robert in Champagne. Here a sanguinary action was fought, in which King Robert was killed. Charles, however, did not take advantage of this circumstance to secure the crown, and not daring to place trust in his subjects, he returned with his army to Lorraine.

Robert, Duke of France, was succeeded in his dukedom by his son, the celebrated Hugh the Great, or the White. This powerful lord had the deposition of Charles the Simple confirmed, and decreed the crown to his brother-in-law, Raoul, or Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, who accepted the crown against his wish. Charles the Simple was then drawn into a snare by Herbert, Count of Vermandois, who seized him and retained him a prisoner at Péronne. Rodolph, elected in 923, reigned for eleven years, restored Charles the Simple to liberty, and assigned to him the royal residences of Attigny and Ponthieu. Charles the Simple languished for some time, and died in 929, crushed by sorrow and illness. The close of Rodolph's reign was troubled by a bloody war, which Hugh the White, Duke of France, waged against the Count of Verman-

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933-940

dois and the Duke of Lorraine. The King of France, suzerain of Hugh, and the Emperor Henry the Fowler, suzerain of the Duke of Lorraine, were drawn into this war, and appeared more like allies of their vassals than as sovereigns.

Germany and Gaul were a prey to frightful calamities, and foreign invasion added its scourge to those of intestine dissensions. The Hungarians, vanquished in 933 by Henry the Fowler in the celebrated battle of Merseburg, returned two years later, crossed Germany, and penetrated into Burgundy. King Rodolph marched to meet them. At the rumor of his approach the Hungarians evacuated Burgundy and fell back on Italy. Rodolph died the following year. He left no sons. No member of his family succeeded him on the throne, and his duchy of Burgundy, the real seat of his power, did not pass in its entirety to his natural heirs. Hugh the Black, his brother, only obtained a part of it; his brother-in-law, Hugh the Great, Count of Paris and Duke of France, took advantage of a civil war to seize the larger portion of it. Louis, son of Charles the Simple, was placed on the throne of France after the death of Rodolph. This young prince, who was sixteen years of age, was living at the time in England privately with his mother, the sister of the Anglo-Saxon king, Athelstane, and he owed to this circumstance the surname of Louis d'Outre Mer, or from across the sea. Hugh gave him the crown by agreement with William Longsword, second Duke of Normandy, and with the lords of old Neustria and Aquitaine. A solemn embassy conveyed their wishes to the court of the king his master, inviting him to come and reign in France. Louis accepted the crown, and was consecrated at Rheims in the year 936, at the same period when Otto the Great, of the House of Saxony, succeeded Henry the Fowler, his father, on the imperial throne of Germany.

The royal domain was at this period limited to the county of Laon. There alone Louis IV. reigned *de facto* as well as nominally; everywhere else in Gaul the dukes and counts were more sovereign than the king. Hugh the Great, while doing him homage, did not intend to free him from his guardianship. The young monarch himself claimed his independence. He had the soul of a king, but had not the power, and his reign was a stormy and perpetual struggle. A formidable invasion of the Hungarians marked its opening, and this scourge suspended for a time the rupture on the point of breaking out between Louis and his powerful vassal.

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Hugh, seeing the king was trying to escape from his influence, made a close league with William, Duke of the Normans, Arnulf, Count of Flanders, and the same Herbert, Count of Vermandois, who had for so long a period kept Charles the Simple prisoner. The Lorrainers, at this period, had revolted against the Emperor Otto the Great, King of Germany, their suzerain, and transferred their homage to Louis d'Outre-Mer, who accepted it. A war broke out between the two kings; and in this struggle the confederate nobles, vassals of Louis, allied themselves against him with the king of Germany, whom they proclaimed king of the Gauls at Attigny. Otto did not retain this title, but he recovered Lorraine and made peace with Louis, the husband of his sister Gerberge, who eventually employed her influence with success to maintain friendly terms between her husband and brother. The struggle of Louis against the rebel lords was prolonged for two years more, and was ended by the intervention of Pope Agapetus and the Emperor Otto. The latter brought about a reconciliation between Hugh the Great and the king.

In these barbarous times the violence of the nobles did not stop at assassination, and the law was impotent against the abuses of brute force. The prince who, next to Hugh the Great, was the most formidable vassal of the crown, William Longsword, Duke of Normandy, was murdered by the emissaries of Arnulf, Count of Flanders: the murderers, however, whom the royal justice could not reach, remained unpunished. The Normans recognized as William's successor a natural son of that prince, the youthful Richard, ten years of age, who was afterwards surnamed the Fearless. Louis hastened to confirm him in the honors and privileges of the ducal rank, and then, having obtained possession of his person, agreed with Hugh the Great to take possession of Normandy and divide it between them. Their plans were foiled by Osmond, governor of the prince, who managed to escape the vigilance of his keepers and conveyed Richard to the castle of Coucy, where he placed the prince in safety. Louis, when he found Richard was at liberty, openly renounced the idea of despoiling him, and Hugh, having nothing further to hope from the king's alliance, became his enemy again. Louis, in his turn, became the victim of a trick on the part of the Normans. Receiving an invitation from them, he proceeded to Rouen, and the reception they gave him completely deceived him. Soon after his arrival Harold, the governor of

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Bayeux, requested a conference of Louis, who went to meet him at the ford of Herluin. Here an armed band suddenly fell on the royal escort, and put it to flight. The king's squire was killed in defending him, and Louis, carried across country by a swift horse, reëntered the walls of Rouen alone. The inhabitants, who were accomplices in Harold's perfidy, seized the king's person, and made him a prisoner. The Count of Paris pretended to take an interest in the fate of the captive monarch. He interfered in his favor, and the king was delivered over by the Normans into his hands. Hugh, having the king in his power, kept him captive, and forced him to surrender Laon, his finest city, as his ransom.

Delivered, at this price, Louis, in his distress, implored and obtained the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Otto of Germany, and with his assistance he invested the city of Laon, and seized it by surprise. A council, at which appeared the kings of France and Germany, assembled at Ingelheim, under the protection of the imperial armies, the principal object of the meeting being to suspend the hostilities of Count Hugh against the king. The council prohibited Hugh from henceforth taking up arms against Louis, and the count, refusing to obey, was excommunicated.

The anathema of the church, far from disarming this powerful vassal, rendered him more violent and formidable. Joining the Normans, he ravaged the lands of King Louis, who, finding himself unable to contend against his powerful foe, applied to the Pope, King Otto, and the bishops, to effect a reconciliation between him and Hugh. They obtained the signature of a truce. Hugh once again recognized the royal authority, and swore fidelity. Louis d'Outre-Mer did not long enjoy the repose which this peace seemed to promise him. He saw several parts of France again ravaged by the Hungarians, and survived the invasion of these barbarians but a short time. While proceeding from Laon to Rheims, a wolf crossed his road. The king dashed in pursuit, but his horse fell, and he was mortally wounded. He died at the age of thirty-three, in September, 954, esteemed for his valor and talents, which, under other circumstances, would have sufficed to keep the crown on his head.

Louis IV. left two sons, of youthful years, Lothaire and Charles. Their mother, Gerberge, aware that without the assistance of the Count of Paris the throne would slip from her family,

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asked his support, and Lothaire was proclaimed king at Rheims at the close of 954, under the protection of Hugh the Great. In return for this service Hugh was invested with the duchy of Aquitaine, to the prejudice of the orphan children of Raymond Pons, Count of Toulouse, who were thus despoiled of their father's heritage. Hugh at once led an army into Aquitaine, and after an unsuccessful expedition he was preparing a second, when death surprised him at the castle of Dourdon, on the Orge, 956. Hugh the Great left the duchy of France and the county of Paris to his son Hugh, who was afterwards named Capet. Henry, his second son, inherited the duchy of Burgundy. Both were children at their father's death. Hugh, the elder, was hardly ten years of age. Their mother Hedwig, and Queen Gerberge, mother and guardian of the young King Lothaire, were sisters; their brother was Otto I., King of Germany, and they placed their children under his protection. This great monarch died in 973. His successor was his son, Otto II., and his death was followed by sanguinary disorders in several countries which he had kept in peace or subjection by the terror of his arms and name.

The bonds of blood and gratitude attached Lothaire and Hugh Capet to the son of the great man who had protected their youth, and both formed fresh bonds with his family by each marrying one of his sisters. Still, the peace between the two kings was of short duration. A dispute broke out on the subject of Belgian Gaul or lower Lorraine, to which country both asserted a claim. Lorraine, divided by Otto the Great into upper and lower Lorraine, and annexed to the German crown by his predecessor, Henry the Fowler, about 923, had since been considered a province of the empire.

Charles, brother of King Lothaire, had inherited a few fiefs from his mother, and after the death of Otto the Great he claimed them with arms in hand. Otto II., who was troubled on his other frontiers, offered Charles the duchy of lower Lorraine, to be held by him as a fief of the Germanic crown. Charles accepted it, and Otto believed that he had satisfied Lothaire by this concession; but the latter on learning, the following year, that the emperor was unsuspectingly residing at Aix-la-Chapelle, formed the plan of surprising him there, and an expedition was unanimously decided on against him. The army, immediately assembled, was marched upon the Meuse, and King Otto was all but surprised in his capital.

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973-987

Lothaire's soldiers occupied the city and palace, but here his success stopped, and he led back his army without obtaining any serious advantage. Otto II. took revenge for his disgrace. He invaded Gaul at the head of a formidable army of Germans, and, ravaging the whole country on his passage, advanced up to the gates of Paris; but despairing of entering the city, and not daring to remain among a hostile population, he returned to his states. His retreat, which was disturbed by Lothaire and Hugh, was as precipitate as his attack had been.

Lothaire, who understood, however, that it would be safer for him to be on good terms with the King of Germany, surrendered to him his claims on Lorraine, and they were reconciled. From this moment Hugh Capet and Lothaire became enemies, and the nations suffered for a long time from their enmity. At length recognizing their impotence to destroy each other, they made peace and were ostensibly reconciled.

Otto II. died in 983, at Rome, leaving a son only three years of age, who was crowned with the name of Otto III. Lothaire took advantage of the disorders which paralyzed the strength of Germany during this lad's minority to assert once more his rights over Lorraine. He led an army into that country and besieged and captured Verdun. On returning to Laon he was meditating a new expedition into Lorraine, when he fell ill and expired, 986, in the forty-fifth year of his life and the thirty-third of his reign.

Louis V., the last king of his race, merely passed over the throne. He had a fall at Senlis, the consequences of which were mortal, and he expired only one year after his father's death, May 22, 987, and was buried at Compiègne. The nobles of the kingdom, after being present at the king's funeral, assembled in council to elect his successor. Louis had left no children, but his uncle Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, was his next heir, and put forward his claim to the crown. The bishops and nobles of France, however, were not disposed to place at their head a prince who, although he was of the blood royal, was an acknowledged vassal of the Emperor of Germany and without any influence whatever in the country; so their choice fell on the powerful Hugh Capet. His brother was Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Normandy was his brother-in-law. In all ways he was the most central of the great nobles of France. On June 1, 987, he was solemnly crowned at Noyon by Adalberon, Bishop of Laon, and unanimously recog-

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nized as king by the different nations of Gaul. This new order of things, which received the name of feudalism, had taken deep root during the past century; and, despite its immense abuses, prevented the utter dissolution of every social tie and return to the barbarism of remote periods.

With Louis V. ended the Carlovingian dynasty. France had at least a French king, although he ruled over but a little fraction of the land. Hugh Capet was the ancestor of all the kings who have since sat on the throne of France.

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PART II

FEUDAL MONARCHY. 987-1642

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Chapter IV

FEUDAL FRANCE. 987-1180

THE accession of Hugh Capet marked the beginning of a new line of kings and of the domination of the so-called feudal system. Under the previous race, the lords had rendered the cession of benefices irrevocable, and made them hereditary in their families. Under the second race, the kings had abandoned to the dukes and counts all the royal rights of raising troops, administering justice, coining money, making peace or war, and defending themselves; and from the moment when they recognized, by the Edict of Kersy, the transmission of offices to the next heir as legal, the dukes and counts regarded themselves as possessors of the provinces in which their will was law. While *de facto* independent of the crown, they still remained subordinate to it by the bond of the oath of fidelity. They distributed, of their own free will, domains among the nobles, who received them on faith and homage, and the latter granted inferior benefices and fiefs to freemen on the same title. Thus, he who gave a territorial estate in fief became the suzerain of him who received it on this title, and the latter was called a vassal, or liegeman. The landholders were thus considered, throughout the entire extent of the kingdom of France, as subjects or vassals to each other. This system, which extended to the provinces, as well as to simple private domains, established a connecting link between all parts of the territory. The principal obligations contracted by the vassal under this system were to bear arms for a certain number of days on every military expedition; to recognize the jurisdiction of the suzerain, and to pay the feudal aids—a species of tax raised for the ransom of the lord, if he were made prisoner, or on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter, or when his son was made a knight. On these conditions the vassal was independent on his own land, and enjoyed the same rights, and was bound by the same duties towards his own vassals, as his suzerain.

It was generally admitted that no man could be tried save by

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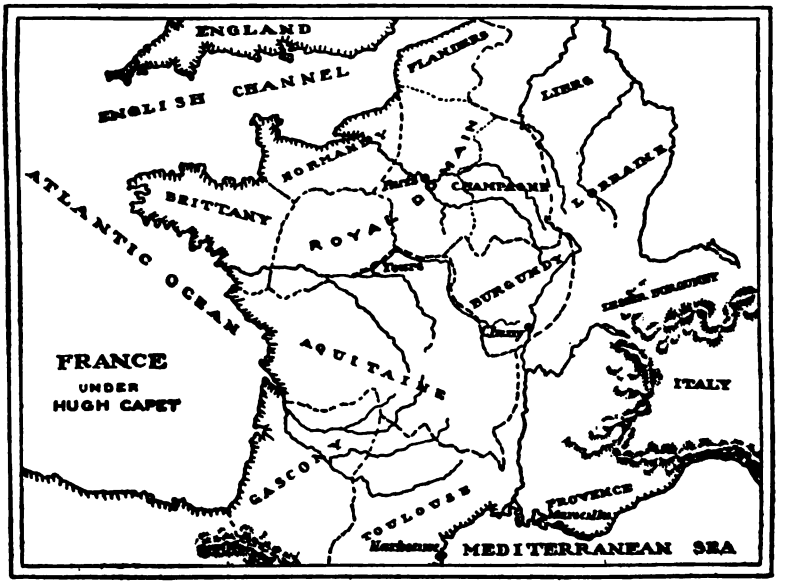
his peers, by which term was meant vassals of the same rank. The great vassals of the crown—the dukes of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Burgundy, and the counts of Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne—were nominated peers of France; and to these six lay peers were eventually added six ecclesiastical peers, who were the archbishops of Rheims and Sens, and the bishops of Noyon, Beauvais, Châlons, and Langres. When a peer of France was summoned before the rest, the king presided at the trial. All these laws, conventions, and usages only concerned the nobility; the people were counted as nothing. The military art underwent a



change, and the cavalry henceforth became the strength of armies. Bodily exercises, riding, and the management of the lance and sword were the sole occupation of the nobility. This first period of the feudal system witnessed the rise of chivalry, respect for women, and modern languages and poetry.

The clergy soon comprehended that, as all the authority was in the hands of the possessors of the fiefs, they must themselves form part of the new organization. They therefore did homage for the church domains, and then divided them into numerous lots, which they converted into fiefs, thus obtaining suzerains and vassals. As the obligation of military service was inseparable from

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the possession of fiefs, the clergy were subjected to it, like all the other vassals; they took up arms at the summons of their suzerains, and constrained their liegemen to fight for them. Wherever the clergy did not embrace a martial life, the temporal lord obtained an immense advantage over them, and the bishops and abbots often found it necessary to place themselves under the protection of a noble who was paid to defend them. The clergy, through these feudal organizations, were diverted from the object of their institution, the people more rarely obtained consolation and succor at their hands, and most of the dignitaries of the church joined the ranks of the oppressors.

An immense majority of the people lived in a servile condition. The freeman had to a great extent disappeared under the Carlovingians; the citizen class had grown weaker, as the importance of the cities became diminished; and at the end of the tenth century there was no middle class between the nobles and the serfs, or men of servitude, attached to the land they cultivated. They were bought and sold with the land, and were unable to leave it of their own accord. They possessed nothing of their own; everything belonged to the lord; and if they were guilty of any fault in his sight, they could not invoke, for their defense, any law or authority, for the right of seignorial justice, of life and death, was absolute.

The condition of the freemen, who did not hold fiefs, and lived on seignorial domains, seems to have been equally deplorable. Designated as villeins, they hardly enjoyed the right of marrying whom they thought proper, or of disposing of their property as they pleased. They were gradually crushed by intolerable burdens, which led a great number of them to take refuge in the towns, where equally great evils followed them. The counts exercised there over them an authority equal to that of the seigneurs on their lands; the tolls and dues of every description were infinitely multiplied; they were obliged to keep their lord and his people when he came within their walls; in short, everything they possessed could be taken by main force from the inhabitants, at the caprice of the master or his followers, without payment or compensation of any kind.

At the time of the accession of the third race, France, properly so called, only comprised the territory between the Somme and the Loire, and it was bounded by the counties of Flanders

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and Vermandois on the north, by Normandy and Brittany on the west, by the Champagne country on the east, by the duchy of Aquitaine on the south. The territory within these bounds was the duchy of France, the patrimonial possession of the Capets, and constituted the royal domain. The great fiefs of the crown, in addition to the duchy of France, were the duchy of Normandy, the duchy of Burgundy, nearly the whole of Flanders formed into a county, the county of Champagne, the duchy of Aquitaine, and the county of Toulouse. We have already seen that the sovereigns of these various states were the great vassals of the crown. Peers of France, Lorraine, and a portion of Flanders were dependent on the Germanic crown, while Brittany was a fief of the duchy of Normandy.

Hugh Capet, like his first successors, made a close alliance with the church, and found it difficult to maintain in obedience the nobles who had raised him to the throne. His chief wars with his contumacious vassals were those which he waged against Adelbert, Count of Perigord, and Eudes, Count of Chartres. Cruel wars between the great vassals and fearful calamities marked the course of this reign. A horrible pestilence ravaged Aquitaine and a great part of the kingdom. Hugh died in his bed, after a reign of nine years. He is only illustrious as the founder of a new dynasty, and this great event must be attributed to circumstances, far more than to his genius. He caused his son Robert to be crowned in his lifetime.

Robert seems, through his rare gentleness, his pious zeal, and his indulgent kindness, to belong to another age. His fervent piety, however, did not protect him from ecclesiastical censures, or from the most violent persecutions of the court of Rome. The Popes constituted themselves sovereign arbiters of cases in which marriage was permitted, but, by an abuse of their authority, they carried the prohibition of marriage too far and proved terrible to those who dared to violate their injunctions, which were frequently arbitrary and unjust. Excommunications and the placing a territory under an interdict were among the means most frequently employed by the Pontiffs to compel the submission of sovereigns. The court of Rome struck at its enemies with these redoubtable weapons, not dealing less vigorously with sovereigns than with subjects. King Robert experienced this. Hugh, his father, disquieted by the Normans established at Blois, who had refused to

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recognize him, gained them over by making his son espouse the celebrated Bertha, widow of Eudes I., of Blois. Pope Gregory V., alleging a degree of relationship against the marriage, ordered Robert to leave his wife, and, on his refusal, excommunicated him. Robert, compelled at length to repudiate her, espoused the imperious Constance, daughter of the Count of Toulouse. She reigned in his name, having his authority, and caused the king's favorite, Hugh of Beauvais, to be murdered in his presence.

Victims of the perpetual discords of the nobles, the people saw their crops destroyed and cottages burned; there was for them neither rest nor security. The inhabitants of the towns were already beginning to endure with reluctance the vexatious tyranny of their lords and to regard with some degree of irritation their precarious condition. The cities which had preserved municipal institutions invoked old and neglected rights, and in others corporations were formed. The workmen organized a militia, fortified their walls, and guarded the gates. Acts of great injustice caused resentment, which had been too long repressed, to break out, and commotions, which were scarcely recognized, presaged the revolutions which in the following century brought the enfranchisements of the towns. The inexhaustible charity of Robert only afforded an almost imperceptible relief for the misfortunes of his people, not rich enough to remove their wretchedness, and too weak to put down their oppressors. He died in 1031, lamented by the wretched and regretted by the clergy, leaving his kingdom augmented by the duchy of Burgundy, which he had united to it in 1002, on the death of his uncle, Henry the Great.

Henry I., the son and successor of Robert, had, at the commencement of his reign, to sustain a family war against his mother, Constance, who raised his young brother to the throne. The church declared for Henry, and the celebrated Robert the Magnificent, Duke of the Normans, lent him the aid of his sword, and settled the crown more firmly on his head. Henry vanquished his brother, forgave him, and granted him the duchy of Burgundy, the first Capetian house of which was founded by Robert. A famine, during his reign, committed fearful ravages in Gaul. After this plague troops of wolves devastated the country, and the feudal lords, more terrible than the wild beasts, continued their barbarous wars amid the universal desolation, the clergy scarce able to induce them to suspend their fury by threatening the judg-

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ments of heaven, and by asserting a multitude of miracles. At length, the councils of the church ordered all to lay down their arms. They published, early in the eleventh century, the "Peace of God," and menaced with excommunication those who violated so holy a law.

But passions were too impetuous, ambitions too indomitable, for the evil to be thus totally uprooted. The "Peace of God" multiplied the sacrilege without diminishing the number of assassinations. A few years later another law, known as the "Truce of God" was added to it. An appeal to force was no longer prohibited to those who could invoke no other law, but from sunset on Wednesday until sunrise on Monday, as well as on festival and fast days, military attack and the effusion of blood were prohibited. This wise and beneficent law, although it was frequently violated, was a great benefit to the nation, whose manners it softened, and was the noblest work of the clergy in the Middle Ages.

Henry I. chose as his third wife the Princess Anne, daughter of Jaroslav, Grand Duke of Russia. He had three sons by this marriage, the eldest of whom, Philip, he caused to be crowned during his life. He carried on an unsuccessful war against his vassal, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, and died in 1060, after a reign of twenty-nine years.

Philip, at the age of eight years, succeeded his father under the guardianship of Baldwin V., Count of Flanders. The great event of his reign, and with which he was entirely unconnected, was the conquest of England. During the reign of Edward the Confessor, Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, had been shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy, and while master of Harold's person Duke William made him swear that he would help him, after the death of Edward, to obtain the kingdom of England. Harold, however, did not consider himself bound by an oath which had been extorted by violence, and, on the death of Edward the Confessor, ascended the throne in accordance with the wish of the nobles and people. On this, William invaded England to establish his claim to the crown by force of arms, and a great battle, fought in 1066 near Hastings, between the rival claimants of the English crown, decided the war. Harold lost his life in it, and England, after an obstinate contest, became a conquest of the Normans. William distributed the confiscated estates as fiefs to his knights, and from this time feudalism spread over that country

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the network with which it already covered France, Germany, and Italy.

A revolution, of which the celebrated Hildebrand was the principal author, was at this time accomplished in the church. This monk, so celebrated in religious history, was resolved to deprive the feudal lords of every species of influence over the clergy, to strengthen the ecclesiastical hierarchy and to raise the Pope above the kings of the earth, hoping thus to enable the church to recover her efficiency, her splendor and all her power. Hildebrand was chosen in 1073 by the people and clergy of Rome as the successor of Pope Alexander III. At first he deferentially asked his confirmation of the Emperor Henry IV., and when he had obtained it he displayed under the name of Gregory VII. his vast and haughty genius and his inflexible character. The nomination of the Popes had already been withdrawn from the influence of the emperor and intrusted to the college of cardinals. Gregory renewed the bull condemning the marriage of priests; he prohibited emperors, kings, and the great vassals from giving ecclesiastical investiture to bishops.

Philip I., King of France, and Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, were both leading at this time a life full of scandal and violence; and in order to supply their unbounded extravagance they carried on, in defiance of Gregory's prohibition, the most disgraceful traffic in church endowments. The indignant Pontiff threatened Philip with excommunication, and laid it upon the emperor. An obstinate war began between them, which is known in history by the name of "The War of Investitures," because the Pope maintained by it his prohibition of princes investing bishops, and reserved that right solely for himself. Gregory VII. liberated the subjects of Henry from the oath of allegiance: and the emperor, abandoned by them, found himself reduced to implore pardon and absolution, which the Pope granted, after compelling the emperor to remain for three days and nights before the castle of Canossa, exposed to the severe cold, with his bare feet in the snow. Henry IV. avenged himself, and Gregory VII. died in exile.

The colossal edifice raised by this Pontiff did not perish with him; he had founded the universal monarchy of the Popes on a durable basis, on the ruling spirit of his age, and this supremacy attained, one hundred years afterwards, its culminating point. The

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crusades contributed greatly to its consolidation. The first of those memorable events had its origin in the time of Philip I., and under the Pontificate of Urban II. In 1095 a council, convoked by Urban, assembled at Clermont, in Auvergne. A prodigious number of princes and nobles of all ranks flocked thither, and three hundred and ten bishops supported the solemnity, under the presidency of the Pope himself. After having decided clerical affairs, Urban drew a pathetic picture of the desolation of the holy shrines, lamenting bitterly the afflictions suffered by the Christians of Palestine. His hearers, deeply moved by the earnest and heart-stirring appeal of the Pontiff, quivered with indignation, and impatiently desired to arm at once—at once to depart. "Let us go," said the whole assembly; "it is the will of God! It is the will of God!"

All who pledged themselves to the enterprise—and such was the general enthusiasm that there were few who did not—assumed a common distinctive sign, a cross of red cloth worn on the right shoulder, and from this was derived the word "Crusade."

The crusaders, as all were now termed who, by taking the cross, had vowed to make the sacred journey, separated to prepare for departure and to communicate to all their pious ardor. The general meeting of the ardent host was fixed for the spring of the following year; but such was the impatience exhibited that, before any duly organized plan of procedure was formed, an immense number of serfs, peasants, homeless wanderers, and even women and children set out for Palestine, divided into two bands, led, the one by Peter the Hermit, the other by a knight named "Walter the Penniless." They devastated for their support the countries which they passed through, raising up in arms against themselves the outraged populations. Many perished on the march to Constantinople; the remnant was slain by the Turks in Asia Minor.

The first regular expedition for the recovery of Palestine consisted of three formidable armies, commanded by Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, Godfrey of Bouillon, the hero of his age, and the Count of Toulouse, Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Godfrey was proclaimed commander-in-chief. The general muster was at Constantinople, where reigned Alexis Comnenus. This emperor received them with discourtesy, and hastened to give them vessels to cross the Bosphorus, after having

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ENTRY OF GODFREY DE BOUILLON INTO JERUSALEM

"After indulging themselves three days in a promiscuous massacre, they ascended on the fourth, bareheaded and barefooted, with contrite hearts and in a humble posture, the hill of Calvary."—GIBBON

Painting by Carl von Piloty

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1097-1108

cunningly obtained from them the oath of homage for their future conquests. The crusaders, after sanguinary struggles, achieved the conquest of Jerusalem, and in 1099 a Christian kingdom was founded in Palestine. Godfrey de Bouillon was its recognized king, but contented himself with the title of the "Baron of the Holy Sepulchre." The name of Franks became in Asia an appellation common to all eastern Christians. Such were the principal facts of that first and celebrated crusade. There only returned to Europe one-tenth of the number that left it.

Philip I. did not associate himself with that expedition. He took no part in the great enterprises which signalized the age in which he lived, and his reign offers nothing worthy of record. He espoused the cause of Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, in rebellion against his father, and carried on a war for twelve years against William, which was not marked by any memorable event. This war was brought to a close by the death of the Conquerer, who was mortally injured by a fall from his horse at the sack of Mantes. Some of his followers carried William in a dying condition to Rouen, where he expired in 1087.

The death of William was a great source of joy to Philip, and allowed him to continue his indolent and scandalous career. He had married Bertha, the daughter of Count Florent of Holland. He repudiated and imprisoned her, then he carried off Bertrade, the wife of Foulque, Count of Anjou, and married her. Pope Urban ordered the dissolution of this marriage, and on the refusal of Philip, a council, assembled at Autun, in 1094, sentenced him to excommunication. Philip was not permitted to wear longer the outward marks of royalty; he was afflicted with grievous infirmities, in which he recognized the hand of God. At length, in the year 1100, he associated his son Louis with himself in the kingdom and reigned only in name. A dreadful fear of hell seized him; he renounced through humility the regal privilege of being interred in the tomb of the kings at St. Denis, and died in 1108 in the habit of a Benedictine friar.

Louis VI. was the first knight of his kingdom, and it was with casque on head and lance in rest that he sought and won the esteem of everyone. His personal estates, almost confined to the cities of Paris, Orleans, Etampes, Mélun, Compiègne and their territories, were bordered on the north by those of Robert, Count of Flanders, and on the east by the estates of Hugh I., Count of

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Champagne. The dominions of Thibaut, Count of Meaux, Chartres and Blois, and those of Foulque V., Count of Anjou, and Touraine closed in on the south this feeble kingdom of France, which the vast possessions of Henry I., son of William the Conqueror, King of England and Duke of Normandy, confined on the west. During the whole of his life Louis had to contend with these powerful enemies, of whom the most formidable was Henry I. In his struggle with this monarch, in behalf of William Clinton, the son of Robert of Normandy, dispossessed, as was his father, of the duchy of Normandy, Louis VI. was vanquished at the battle of Brenneville, fought in 1119. On this he appealed to the militia of the cities and of the church, and these ranged themselves under the royal standard, and entered with Louis VI. into Normandy, where they committed great ravages. When peace was finally made it was agreed that Henry should remain in possession of Normandy, for which his son should render homage to the King of France.

The king associated his elder son Philip with himself in the government. This young prince, who gave bright promise, was killed accidentally, and the king substituted for him his second son Louis, surnamed the Young. He continued without success his war against Henry I., who died in 1135. A struggle followed for the succession to that prince's crown between Stephen of Blois, his nephew, and his daughter Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V. of Germany, and married a second time to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, the founder of the celebrated House of Plantagenet, which reigned so long in England. William X., Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitou, supported Geoffrey, and with him carried fire and sword through Normandy, but returned covered with the maledictions of the people. Overcome by remorse, he undertook a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, in Spain, and offered his daughter Eleanor to Louis, son of the King of France. This alliance promised to double the estates of the king, who hastened to conclude it. But the marriage was celebrated between the solemnization of two funerals, that of William X., who sank on his pilgrimage, and that of Louis the Fat, who died the same year, 1137.

In this reign, and more especially after the battle of Brenneville, the alliance of the king with the church and with the commons of the kingdom becomes apparent. The support of the king

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1137-1149

was necessary to the church and the rising bourgeoisie, to enable them to resist the oppression of the feudal nobility. It was to this community of interests that the kings of France owed in a great measure, first, the preservation of their crown, and subsequently their influence and their conquests. But Louis VI. in his conduct towards the bourgeoisie of the cities was in no way actuated by zeal for the public liberty. He cared only for the needs of his treasury, which was replenished by the payments made by the cities for the privileges he granted to them, and for the interests of his power, which continued to increase up to the time of his death, especially in the center of France, where the royal authority had before him been almost disregarded, and where he caused it to be respected.

Louis VII., surnamed the Young, exhibited on ascending the throne a spirit as warlike as his father's. He supported Geoffrey Plantagenet against his rival Stephen, and aided him to conquer Normandy, for which Geoffrey did homage. England remained to Stephen, who recognized the son of Geoffrey and Matilda as heir to his crown. Louis kept the barons and the clergy in order: he opposed the usurpations of Pope Innocent II., and refused to recognize the Archbishop of Bourges, elected by that Pontiff, who laid an interdict on the kingdom.

The most memorable event of this reign is the second crusade, preached with immense success by Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, and commanded by the king in person. The Turks had taken Edessa, in Palestine, by storm, and massacred its inhabitants, and throughout Christendom arose a cry for vengeance. France was the first to be convinced by the voice of Saint Bernard, and communicated the movement to Europe. Louis VII. took up the cross and went forth on his journey at the head of seventy thousand French. But here ended his reputation as king and knight. He lost half of his own forces on the mountains of Laodicea, and fruitlessly undertook many enterprises, each of which was marked by a disaster. In the end, the whole of the expedition of Louis VII. was reduced, so far as he was concerned, to a pious pilgrimage to the holy sepulcher. He returned to Europe with the crusader princes, and brought back with him only a few soldiers. His army had been annihilated.

Louis found his kingdom at peace, indeed almost flourishing, thanks to the wise administration of Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis,

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whom he had charged with the regency of the kingdom in his absence. But the deplorable result of that crusade, for which he had laid a heavy tax on his people, had destroyed all the king's popularity. Under pretext of too near blood relationship, he divorced his queen, Eleanor, who, thus abandoned, gave her hand to Henry Plantagenet, heir to the crown of England, and carried to him her dowry of Aquitaine, taken away from France by this fatal divorce. Louis saw with emotion the half of his territories about to pass to his rival, and sought in vain to throw obstacles in the way of the marriage. The new husband of Eleanor succeeded Stephen on the throne of England and became the celebrated Henry II. He possessed, in France, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Aquitaine, and Normandy. He professed great friendship toward Louis the Young, and united in marriage his son, seven years of age, to the daughter of Louis, still in her cradle. War broke out on the subject of the dowry of this princess, but the contest was ended in 1169 by the Peace of Montmirail. The next year witnessed the murder of the famous Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, an act which was committed, it may be said, at the instigation of Henry himself. For this indirect crime the monarch did penance at the shrine of the martyred prelate in Canterbury Cathedral; but from this time he enjoyed no more quiet. His wife Eleanor, irritated by his infidelities, incited his three sons to revolt against him, and in accordance with the disgraceful custom of the times, Louis VII. supported them in the unholy war. They rendered him homage for Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany, but they were defeated by their father. The two kings were then reconciled. Louis placed a crown on the head of his son Philip Augustus, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Thomas à Becket. He died immediately afterwards. The great error of his reign seems to have been the divorce of his queen, Eleanor, by which France lost those provinces which she had acquired by his marriage and which she never finally recovered till after ages of warfare and disaster.

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Chapter V

REACTION AGAINST FEUDALISM: PHILIP AUGUSTUS AND PHILIP THE FAIR. 1180-1328

THE reign of Philip II., surnamed Augustus, marks an epoch in the growth of the royal power in France, due to a large increase in the crown domains, lands immediately under the government of the king. The unification of French territory was to lay the foundation for the unification of the French people. A series of contests and negotiations with the great vassals of the crown occupied the early years of Philip's reign. He espoused the daughter of the Count of Flanders, and obtained by this marriage the city of Amiens and the barrier of the Somme, so important to the defense of his states. He increased his power by unfair means, fomenting civil wars among his neighbors and exciting, up to the death of Henry II., the children of that king against their father. The latter signed a humiliating treaty with his son Richard and Philip Augustus. He heard of the revolt of John, his third son, and died of grief at Chinon. Richard succeeded him on the throne of England, and won, by his fiery and impetuous valor, the surname of Cœur de Lion.

The enthusiasm of the crusades was rekindled in Europe by the misfortunes which overwhelmed the kingdom of Jerusalem, where Guy of Lusignan bore rule. The Christians had been defeated by Saladin, in the celebrated battle of Tiberias, and Jerusalem and her king had fallen before the power of the conqueror. The terrible news struck Christendom with consternation, and a formidable expedition was prepared. The three greatest sovereigns of Europe, Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, Richard, King of England, and Philip, King of France, took up the cross and each led into Palestine a numerous army. The results by no means corresponded to these grand efforts. Frederick, at the outset, was drowned in the river Selef, near Seleucia. Philip and Richard quarreled over the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, and the former returned to his kingdom, leaving a part of his army under the command of

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Richard. He swore, on leaving him, not to undertake anything against him in his absence. Richard pursued his heroic career in Palestine. He gained brilliant but fruitless victories, wearing out the crusaders, who at length compelled him to quit the Holy Land. Saladin offered to the Christians peaceable possession of the plains of Judea, and liberty to perform the pilgrimage to Jerusalem: Richard agreed to these conditions, and embarked for Europe. He landed in Austria, upon the territories of Duke Leopold, his mortal enemy, who delivered him up to the Emperor Henry VI., whose hatred Richard had excited. Henry imprisoned him in the castle of Dürrenstein, and sent to inform the King of France of it. Richard was then betrayed by his brother John, who had possessed himself of a portion of his territories, but being ransomed by his subjects, he returned unexpectedly to his dominions, reduced his brother to submission, and avenged himself on Philip by forming an alliance with the most powerful of the barons inimical to the French monarch. The war was prolonged between the two rivals with varied success; they finally signed a truce for three years. Richard was killed at the siege of the small fortress of Châlus in Limousin, in 1199.

John, the youngest son of Henry II., seized the crown of England, and Philip supported against him the claims of Arthur of Brittany, his nephew, the son of Geoffrey, John's elder brother. This young prince promised homage to Philip for all his possessions in France, and ceded Normandy to him. War followed. Arthur, with his knights, was captured by King John, and met his death by assassination. John was cited by Philip to appear and do homage for his possessions in France. He did not present himself, and the court of peers condemned him to death, as contumacious. Normandy, Brittany, Guienne, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, lands which he held in fief from France, were declared confiscated and reunited to the crown. Pursuing a policy in England that tended to diminish the power of the church, John was excommunicated by Innocent III., who offered the crown of England to Philip. The French king assembled an army to make a descent on England, but John submitted and made peace with the Pope. Philip turned his arms against Flanders. Old grievances existed between Ferrand, count of that province, and Philip; the king could now obtain satisfaction by force of arms. Ferrand hastened to league himself with John of England and with his father, Otto IV., Emperor of Ger-

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many. The French army achieved a brilliant victory over the allies at the bridge of Bouvines.

King John rendered himself so odious that his barons forced him, on June 15, 1215, to sign the charter which has become the basis of the liberties of the English people, and which is known as Magna Charta. To this charter, however, the English king seemingly took oath only in the hope of being released from it by the Pope; and, in fact, he was so released. His barons then offered the crown to Louis of France, the son of Philip Augustus. This prince, despite his father's vow and the prohibition of the Pope, whose legate excommunicated him, crossed over to England. He was received with open arms by the barons and proceeded to possess himself of the kingdom; but King John died at this time, and his partisans proclaimed his young son Henry, king. The English people attached themselves to the youth, and Louis, abandoned by his supporters, returned to France, after having contributed to establish on a more solid basis the liberties of England.

The event which agitated Europe most profoundly during the reign of Philip Augustus was the War of the Albigenses, or the crusade undertaken against the sectarians of the south. There were many of them in Provence, in Catalonia, and especially in Languedoc. In these countries the clergy were not distinguished, as in France and in the northern provinces, by their zeal in instruction and in diffusing the light of religion. They were notorious for disorderly living, and fell every day into greater contempt. The need for reform made itself felt before long in the breast of the provincial populations, and many reformers had already appeared, when the famous Innocent III. ascended the Pontifical throne in 1198. This Pontiff was the first to perceive the serious menace to the Catholic church of views which went so far as to break into revolt against her tenets, for the principles of the Vaudois were almost identical with the opinions which, three centuries later, were preached by Luther. He saw with inquietude and anger the new tendency of feeling in Provence and Languedoc, and proscribed the reformers, whose doctrines were favored by Raymond VI., the Count of Toulouse, and his nephew, Raymond Roger, Viscount of Béziers. The inquisitors sent by the Pope into the province of Narbonne to stifle the heresy were badly received, and the Pope's legate was assassinated by the squire of the count, who was angered by the sentence of excommunication that

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had been put in force against his suzerain Raymond. This murder gave the Pope a pretext to preach a crusade in 1208 against the dominions of Raymond VI. and of his nephew. The immense preparations of the crusaders struck terror into Raymond VI., who, worn with age and unable to offer a vigorous resistance, submitted and was reconciled to the church. The young Viscount of Béziers, indignant at the pusillanimous conduct of his uncle, determined to resist to the last. The crusaders carried Béziers by assault. A large number of the inhabitants of the neighboring country had taken refuge within the walls of that city. A frightful massacre followed, and the city was reduced to ashes. The army of crusaders marched thereupon to Carcassonne, and was sharply repulsed by the Viscount of Béziers. Many of the inhabitants of Carcassonne were put to death, and the legate gave all the conquered country to the ferocious Simon, Count de Montfort. He delivered over to him also the Viscount of Béziers, who died by poison.

A part only of the Albigenses had been subjected and destroyed in this first crusade, and it was determined by the Pope and his advisers to make an end of the remainder. By the Council of Saint Gilles, Raymond was ordered to deliver over to the stake those whom the priests pointed out to him. The aged count, whose valor was reawakened by indignation at this infamous order, boldly refused and prepared for war to the death. The crusaders arrived from all parts, led by Simon de Montfort, who distinguished himself by frightful cruelties. Immense pyres were prepared, and in the same holocaust heretics and Catholics suspected of heresy were ruthlessly burned. The battle of Muret, fought in 1213, terminated this war. Don Pedro, King of Aragon, who had brought succor to the Count of Toulouse, perished there. The Albigenses were defeated, and that defeat gave a mortal blow to their cause.

The victorious executioners quarreled among themselves and fought; the people regained courage. Toulouse rose, and the war was continued with various successes, till at last all Languedoc rose in arms. Montfort was killed before Toulouse, which he was besieging. Count Raymond was recalled, but died shortly after his return, leaving his territories to his son and successor, Raymond VII., against whom this war of extermination was prosecuted from time to time with relentless cruelty. At length, after twenty-two years of atrocities, when the language, the arts and industry of these provinces had disappeared with the reformation, the war ceased

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under the following reign, to the great advantage of France. Raymond VII. ceded to it a portion of his territories by the Treaty of Paris, signed in 1229.

Philip Augustus took no active part in this war of extermination. He sought, on the contrary, to repair its disasters, and while fanaticism was steeping the southern countries with blood, he extended his dominions and rendered them flourishing. The national assemblies had fallen into desuetude: Philip appealed to his chief barons to form his council and sanction his decrees. He conquered Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, formerly forfeited to the King of England, and the county of Auvergne. Under his reign Valois, part of Vermandoies, and Amienois fell to the crown by the extinction of the families who possessed them. This king also reannexed Artois to the crown by his union with Isabelle of Flanders and Hainault. Finally he gave the inheritance of Brittany to Pierre Mauclerc, a member of his family, and a Capetian dynasty was founded in that country. Thus was formed the new duchy of Brittany, which became one of the great immediate fiefs of the crown of France. Philip Augustus was occupied all his life in warfare, treaties, reforms, laws for his fiefs, and he secured upon a firm basis the relations between lords and vassals, which until then had been only in an unsettled and arbitrary condition, and was thus the principal founder of feudal monarchy. The military art owed some progress to him. Soldiers received pay, and for this purpose he established the first permanent imposts. He appointed three maritime armaments, and obtained by his activity, his prudence, and his talents the respect both of sovereigns and people. The important foundations of the University of Paris dates from this prince, and the city itself was indebted to him for many useful alterations. Up to that time all the streets of the capital became, in rainy weather, infectious sewers; the principal thoroughfares were paved and embellished by his orders. He enlarged the city, enclosed it with walls, built market-places, and surrounded the Cemetery of the Innocents with cloisters; he built a palace by the side of the large tower of the Louvre, and continued the cathedral, which had been commenced prior to his reign. He gained by his conquests and institutions the esteem of his contemporaries, and died at Nantes in 1223, after a reign of forty-three years, leaving a portion of his immense wealth to the priests and crusaders, and also making considerable gifts to the poor.

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Louis VIII., son of Philip Augustus, reigned only three years. During his father's life he had been recognized as King of England by the barons hostile to King John, but being abandoned by his partisans he was obliged to quit the kingdom. On returning to France he took from the English Poitou, which they had reconquered, as well as several important places in Aunis, Périgord, and Limousin, among others Rochelle, and signalized the end of his reign by a second crusade against the unhappy Albigenses. The principal cities of Languedoc, Beaucaire, Carcassonne, and Béziers opened their gates to him, and the south of France, with the exception of Guienne and Toulouse, recognized the royal authority. Louis was marching against the latter city when an epidemic fever attacked his army, and he died at Montpensier, either from an attack of the malady, or, as some believed, from poison, administered to him by Thibaut of Champagne, who was violently enamored of Queen Blanche of Castile, whom the king left a widow, with five children of tender years. The eldest of her sons was St. Louis.

Louis IX., justly venerated under the name of St. Louis, was only twelve years of age on the death of his father, and the regency of the kingdom devolved on Queen Blanche, his mother. She gave excellent masters to her children, and had them carefully brought up in the fear of God. This pious queen also possessed political talent, and enabled France to reap the fruit of the horrible war with the Albigenses. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1229 between her and Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse, attached to the crown a large portion of lower Languedoc, forming the seneschalships of Beaucaire and Carcassonne, and Raymond recognized as his heir in the rest of his territory his son-in-law Alphonse, one of the brothers of Louis IX., declaring the inheritance should revert to him, if there were no child born of the marriage of Alphonse with his only daughter, Jeanne.

Louis IX. was nineteen years of age when he married Margaret of Provence, then only thirteen. Queen Blanche separated them for six years, and always afterwards showed a jealousy about Margaret's influence over the king. A few years afterwards the sister of this princess married Henry III., King of England, who thus became the brother-in-law of St. Louis. Louis IX. had soon to contend against the great vassals and nobles, to whom his grandfather, Philip Augustus, had dealt such terrible blows. The Counts de la Marche, de Foix, and several other vassels united with Henry

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III., who crossed the sea with an army, and claimed the provinces taken from John Lackland. The English and their allies were conquered by Louis at the Bridge of Taillebourg, in 1242, and again before Saintes, which city he united to the crown, with a part of Saintonge, by the Treaty of Bordeaux. The rebellious lords submitted to a master who generously pardoned them, and Henry returned to England.

All the East was agitated at this time in the expectation of a frightful catastrophe. The Mongols, emerging from upper Asia, had exterminated every nation they passed through. Their vanguard had invaded the Holy Land, and gained a victory over the Christians and Mussulmans. whom terror had united, and Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the ferocious conquerors. St. Louis was ill and almost dying when the news of this disaster reached Europe; but on his recovery he determined to undertake a new crusade for the delivery of the Holy Land from its conquerors; and, having assembled an army, left Paris on July 12, 1248, to embark at Aigues-Mortes, a town he had founded at a great cost, in order to have a port in the Mediterranean. He had resolved to proceed towards Egypt by Cyprus, instead of going to Syria by Sicily, a mistake which ultimately led to the failure of his enterprise.

The king sojourned a year at Nicosium, the capital of Cyprus, and then set out for Egypt. On arriving in sight of Damietta he leaped into the sea, sword in hand, at the head of his knights, repulsed the enemy, and seized this strong city and all its immense resources. In this town he remained for five months inactive, and then marched without any precautions on Mansourah. The Turks surrounded him on a burning plain, and hurled the terrible composition known as "Greek fire" on his baggage and camp. Louis, in this desperate situation, gave orders for battle (1249). The Count of Artois, his brother, rushed imprudently on Mansourah and surprised the town, but was surrounded there and killed, with the knights who followed him. The king, who had been unable to relieve them, fell back on a camp of the Saracens, carried it, and shut himself up in it. There disease and repeated assaults carried off one half of his army, and he was himself taken dangerously ill. He ordered a retreat on Damietta, where he had left the queen and a powerful garrison, but Turkish galleys blocked the passage of the river, and he fell, with all his knights, into the hands of the Mussulmans. Queen Margaret, at Damietta, proved herself worthy

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of her husband. She kept the city as a pledge for the safety of the king, and it was offered, with 400,000 livres, for the royal ransom. At this price Louis recovered his liberty. His barons returned to France, but he remained four years longer in Syria, exhorting his knights to rejoin him, and employing his treasures in fortifying D'Acre, Sidon, and other places in Palestine that belonged to the Christians.

Queen Blanche died in 1252, after a wise regency, and the king felt the most bitter grief at his loss. He returned to France, and made his entry into Paris, in September, 1254, displaying on his countenance the seared impression of all his disasters. On his return Louis occupied himself actively with the reformation of his kingdom, and displayed the lofty qualities of a legislator. He completely destroyed the sovereign authority of the nobles by depriving them of the right of dealing justice arbitrarily. The code of Roman laws known by the name of the Pandects of Justinian, and which governed the Greek empire, became known at this period in France. This collection of laws had at the time such a superiority over every other code that its application was desirable; but the ignorance of the nobles was so great that it was found necessary to call in men versed in the study of the laws to explain it. Saint Louis was the first to introduce these lawyers into a parlement which he constituted as a court of justice. The lawyers ultimately succeeded in securing the entire management of judicial affairs. This tended to throw into their hands a great part of the feudal authority hitherto exercised by the nobles, and while they sought to abridge the power of the peers and barons, they endeavored to render that of the king absolute, by actively seconding him in all his projects of reform and attacks upon feudal rights.

This pious and humane monarch attempted to put an end to the private wars between his barons and prohibited judicial combats, ordering that judicial debates should be substituted for these encounters, and considerably enlarged the authority of the crown by establishing "royal cases," in which he himself heard causes between his subjects and their lords. The lawyers gave the greatest extension to these appeals. Nor did the king permit cities to be rendered independent of his authority; he transformed many communes into royal towns by the ordinance of 1256, which ordered them to put forward four candidates, from among whom the king should choose the mayor, who was to be responsible to him for his

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conduct. It was then settled that the king alone had the right to make communes, that they should owe him fidelity against all, and that the title of "king's citizen" should be a safeguard under all circumstances.

Louis' last reform was that of the coinage. Many nobles had the right of coining in their domains, but the king fixed the value of the coinage in each case, and brought his own coin everywhere into circulation. He also effected greater security on the highways of the kingdom, by obliging the nobles who levied a toll to guarantee the security of the roads through their domains.

So much care devoted to the prosperity of the kingdom and to the salutary establishment of his authority did not so fully occupy the great mind of this king as to divert him from occupations of less general interest, but of no less useful kind. He founded a public library in Paris; created the Hospital of the Quinze-vingts, intended to receive three hundred blind people, and built the Sainte Chapelle, which may still be admired at Paris, near the Palace of Justice, at that period the palace of the king.

Nevertheless, in spite of his far-seeing wisdom and pure zeal, he committed several faults, the consequence of errors which belonged to his age rather than to himself: he laid cruel penalties on Jews and heretics, and cast many merchants into dungeons for lending money on interest, which at that time was regarded as a crime. A scruple fatal to France disturbed the mind of this holy monarch. The conquests of Philip Augustus and the confiscation of the property of the English crown oppressed him, and appeared to him in the light of usurpations; and he concluded at Abbeville, in 1259, contrary to the advice of his barons and his family, a treaty, by which he restored to Henry III. Périgord, Limousin, Agenais, Quercy, and Saintonge; while Henry, on his side, gave up his claims to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou, and recognized the King of France as his suzerain for the possessions on the Continent. Almost at the same time that Louis signed the Treaty of Abbeville he signed with the King of Aragon the Treaty of Corbeil (1258), by which that prince gave up all the fiefs he still possessed in Languedoc and his claims to Provence, in return for which France surrended her suzerainty over the countries of Barcelona, Roussillon, and Cerdagne. The King of Aragon only retained in France the lordship of Montpellier, and the Pyrenees became the frontier of the two states.

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Saint Louis had lost his eldest son, and several members of his family proved to be turbulent and dangerous to France. Charles of Anjou, his brother, an ambitious and cruel prince, heir, by his marriage with Beatrice of Provence, to the powerful counts of that name, caused him very great anxiety, and with the intention of removing him Louis favored his projects with regard to Naples and Sicily, then possessions of the imperial crown. The illustrious house of Suabia was humbled; Frederick II., its last emperor, met with his death in struggling against the Pope, who sold his heritage and offered to the King of France the kingdom of Naples, where Manfred, the bastard son of Frederick II., then reigned. Saint Louis refused the offer for himself, but allowed his brother to accept it. Charles of Anjou left France with an army gathered together in Provence; and six years later, in 1266, the battle of Grandella, where Manfred perished, placed the crown of Naples and Sicily securely on his head.

The East now attracted more forcibly than ever the attention of Saint Louis. The Latin empire in Constantinople was no more; the Greeks had retaken that city in 1261. Taking advantage of the divisions among the Christians in Syria, Bedocdard, the sultan of Egypt, made a series of rapid conquests in Palestine. Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Antioch had fallen into his power, and thousands of Christians had been massacred in the last-named town. On receiving intelligence of this frightful disaster, Saint Louis took up the cross for the second time, and embarking again at Aigues-Mortes, in 1270, set sail for Tunis, disembarked close to the ruins of ancient Carthage, and had to suffer an infinity of evils, from the dryness of the soil, the heat of the sun, and the arrows of the Moors. The plague carried away part of his army, which he was compelled to hold back in fatal inaction. It struck down his second son, the Count of Nevers, and he himself was attacked at the end of the month, and died on August 25, 1270, after having appointed as regents of the kingdom Mathieu de Saint-Denis and Roger de Nesle. No other king was more worthy of the admiration of his fellow-men, and alone, out of all his race, the church bestowed on him the honors of canonization.

The third son of Saint Louis, Philip III., called without any known reason Philip the Bold, did not follow the glorious example of his father. He reigned surrounded by valets, and wholly given up to superstitious practices. The same day that Saint Louis died

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he received Charles of Anjou, his uncle, who entered into the port of Carthage with a fleet and an army. Peace was concluded that year, and then the army returned to Europe, diminished one half by the heat, fatigue, and the plague. Philip reëntered France preceded by five coffins: those of his father, his wife, his son, his brother, the Count of Nevers, and his brother-in-law, Thibaut II., Count of Champagne, King of Navarre. His uncle Alphonso, who had married Jeanne, the daughter and heiress of Raymond VII., last Count of Toulouse, died shortly afterwards without offspring, and his death made Philip heir to the county of Toulouse; but a part of this great fief, the county of Venaissin, to which Philip had only doubtful rights, he ceded to Gregory X., one of the most venerable men that ever occupied the Pontifical throne.

The reign of Philip III. left no glorious souvenir for France, either in the interior of the kingdom or in foreign lands, and this period was marked by the frightful disaster which overthrew the French government in Sicily. Charles of Anjou, after having caused his rival, the young Conradin, son of Conrad IV., to be condemned to death and executed, believed himself securely seated upon his new throne. Conradin was the last prince of the house of Hohenstaufen; his death left the field clear for Charles of Anjou, who from that time believed that he could oppress Naples and Sicily under a frightful tyranny. Vengeance brooded in every heart. John of Procida became the soul of the conspiracy; he was certain of the assistance of the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, and of the King of Aragon, Don Pedro III. The latter assembled a fleet, which he entrusted to the celebrated Roger of Loria, his admiral, with the order to await events upon the coast of Africa. Suddenly, on March 30, 1282, the people of Palermo arose at the moment when the vesper bells sounded. At the stroke of this tocsin the French were massacred in the streets of Palermo, and in a month afterward the same thing had occurred throughout the whole of Sicily.

Charles of Anjou, furious, attacked Messina, but Roger of Loria destroyed his fleet under his very eyes. Pedro was crowned King of Sicily. Charles demanded vengeance from King Philip, his nephew. The Pontiff, Martin IV., sustained his cause with ardor; he declared Don Pedro deprived of the crown of Aragon, and named Charles of Valois, second son of Philip, successor to Don Pedro, against whom he preached a crusade. Philip III. commanded the

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expedition against Aragon; but it was a failure. The king returned to France ill and expired in the course of the year.

Philip IV., surnamed the Fair, was sixteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne of Philip the Bold, his father. He at once continued the war against Aragon, which his father had commenced, and which was prolonged for many years without any decisive success. It was terminated by the Treaty of Anagni, signed in 1295. This treaty recognized Alphonso III., son of Pedro III., King of Aragon, and Charles II., son of Charles of Anjou, King of Naples. Sicily, however, was detached from Naples and given to the King of Aragon, while Charles II., crowned by the Pope, ceded his hereditary domains, Maine and Anjou, to Charles of Valois, second son of Philip the Bold.

Philip, whose character was hard, irascible, and rapacious, oppressed his subjects without pity, and his exactions were supported by unprincipled men of law, notorious for their chicanery and base severity. These men were, under him, the tyrants of France. Their work, however, in so far as it touched legislation, had a useful influence which cannot be forgotten. They sought in political law to unite all the privileges of the sovereignty in the sole hands of the prince, while they asserted the equality of the subjects before the law; they also endeavored to establish the civil law on a basis of reason and natural equity. In this manner they demolished the social order as it had been created under the feudal system, organized at the same time monarchial centralization, and became the true founders of the civil order in modern times. The court of the king, or Parlement, the supreme tribunal of the kingdom, became the seat of their power. This body, founded by Saint Louis with the political and judicial privileges of the time, was modified by Philip IV., the judicial element at this period being alone preserved. The Parlement in the meantime ceased to be itinerant. An ordinance of March 23, 1302, fixed it in Paris, and established it in the *Cité,* at the ancient palace of the kings, which took, from that time, the name of the Palace of Justice. It was composed of clerks and lawyers, all persons of the Third Estate, and it became the focus of the anti-feudal revolution. In order to sustain this new form of government, and to execute the judgments of the men of law, it was necessary to have an imposing force. The king had to pay a judicial and administrative army, and as the maintenance of the horse and foot sergeants

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alone cost large sums, it was necessary to wrest this money by violence from the unfortunate population. Thence sprang the despotism, thence the cruel miseries, which held in suspense, for so long a time, the advantages of the central and monarchial power.

This king, far from warlike, saw without emotion the disasters among the Christians, and the capture of Saint Jean d'Acre, their last stronghold in Palestine. The successes of Edward I., King of England, troubled him more. That prince, at the death of Alexander III., King of Scotland, caused himself to be recognized as arbiter between the aspirants to the throne, and had awarded it to John Baliol, whose weakness he knew. He threatened to invade that kingdom, when Philip caused him to be summoned before the Parlement of Paris as his vassal for Aquitaine, alleging as a pretext certain troubles caused by the rivalry of commerce between the two nations. On this Edward persuaded the Count of Flanders to take up arms against France, while Philip promised to support the celebrated William Wallace, then in arms against the English king. The differences between the French and English monarchs, however, were reconciled by Boniface VIII., who imposed a long truce upon the two kings, and united their interests by means of marriages. The King of England abandoned the Count of Flanders, and Philip no longer defended Scotland, which Edward seized for the second time. The French monarch then invited the Count of Flanders to place himself at his discretion, and that unfortunate nobleman gave himself up with confidence to the king. He was immediately thrown into prison, and all his states were seized by Philip. The tyranny which the French exercised in Flanders soon caused the people to revolt. The trade corporations assembled, massacred the French in Bruges, and in the other towns, restoring independence to their country. The Flemish militia occupied Courtray, in front of which town the French army was encamped. They went out to meet it, and waited bravely for the battle, which resulted in the total destruction of the French, and the wholesale slaughter of the flower of the chivalry of France. This defeat weakened the feudal power in France, and strengthened royalty.

Philip resolved to avenge in person the defeat of his nobility at Courtray. He entered Flanders at the head of a powerful army, and occupied Tournay. His fleet overcame the Flemings at Zeriksee, and in 1304 his knights achieved a costly victory at Mons-en-Puelle. The brave citizens, however, of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres,

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and other towns in Flanders continued to resist. Peace was finally made in 1304, but war broke out again in 1309 and it was some time before the terms of the treaty could be executed. The Count of Flanders recovered his possessions as a fief of France.

The assumption by the Popes of the right to bestow the kingdoms of the world on whom they would, and the support given by Boniface VIII. to his legate, the Bishop of Pamiers against Philip, whom the prelate had insulted, deeply wounded the pride of the king, who caused the bishop to be arrested on a charge of high treason, and demanded his degradation from his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Narbonne. The Pope revoked the judgment and issued a bull against the king. Philip, supported by the University of Paris, caused the Pope's bull to be burned, and convoked, in 1302, the first Estates-General, where the deputies of the Third Estate had been summoned, alongside the barons and bishops. The mayors, aldermen, consuls of the good cities, came to Paris, and took their places in Nôtre Dame, where on April 10, 1302, the first session was opened. At this the nobility, the clergy, and the Third Estate proclaimed the crown completely independent of the church. Boniface avenged himself by excommunicating the king, who sent his representative, William of Nogaret, to Anagni, where Boniface resided, to make himself master of the Pope's person. Boniface was promptly released by the people of Anagni, but he expired at Rome, a month afterwards, of a fever caused by the shock and at the age of eighty-six years.

For a year the Papal See was vacant, while secret intrigues continued in the college of cardinals. Finally Bertrand of Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, was elected and took the name Clement V. It was a victory for the French cardinals. The new Pope did not go to Italy. He was installed at Lyons and finally took up his residence at Avignon. It was the beginning of the "Babylonian Captivity" of the church. Supported in his ruthless acts by the new Pope, the king immediately commenced a frightful persecution of the members of the Order of the Templars in France, before they even suspected his design. Confessions of evil doing were wrung from them by torture; their property was confiscated and their characters stained with horrible imputations without legal proof. Hundreds of blameless men then perished by the sword, by hunger, and by fire in France. But not content with this, Philip, then the most powerful king in Europe, invited all the sovereigns to follow

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his example; Edward II., King of England, and Charles II., King of Naples, acceded to his wishes, and seized upon the Templars in their states; and fifteen thousand families, it is estimated, were broken up by this terrible measure.

Philip IV., dishonored among the people by the surname of the False Coiner, levied enormous taxes, debased the coinage, and, after the money was issued, refused to receive it at its face value. He was the most absolute despot who had reigned in France: yet he was the first of his race who granted representation to the Third Estate. He expired in 1314, recommending to his son piety, clemency, and justice. Clement V., his accomplice in the spoliation of the Templars, died soon after him.

Under Philip the Fair the domain of the crown was increased by La Marche and Angoumois, which he confiscated; by Lyonnais, which he detached from the empire, and by a part of French Flanders. He had married Jeanne, heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, of the country of Champagne, and of Brie. The results of that union were favorable to France.

Philip left three sons and one daughter. Louis X., the eldest, surnamed "*Le Hutin,*" or the Stubborn, was twenty-five years of age at the death of his father, and had already worn for fifteen years the crown of Navarre, which he had inherited from his mother, together with that of Champagne and Brie. His two brothers, Philip and Charles, like himself, were given up to vicious habits, and their sister Isabella, wife of Edward II., only distinguished herself by crime and infamy. Marguerite of Burgundy, wife of the king, had been shut up, at the close of the last reign, in the château Gaillard des Andelys, on a charge of adultery. Louis caused her to be strangled, and afterwards married Clemence of Hungary. He always lived surrounded by profligate young noblemen, whom he made the companions of his pleasures, and the nobility, taking advantage of their influence, obtained from him the restoration of their ancient privileges. He thus weakened the mainspring of the monarchy, so anxiously cared for by his father. But the king, pressed by want of money, issued also some decrees favorable to the national liberties, offering to the peasants of the crown and to the serfs held in mortmain to sell them their liberty. But he gave no guarantee of the rights that he recognized, and such was the misery of the people, and such the distrust that the king inspired, that his decree was only received by a small number, and

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brought little money into the treasury. Great disorder in the finances, and the horrors of a famine, accompanied by astounding scandals, marked the rapid course of this reign. Louis X. died in 1316, in consequence of an imprudence, leaving his wife, Clemence of Hungary, expecting the birth of a child. By his first marriage he had only one daughter, called Jeanne, then six years old.

Philip V., called the Long, brother of Louis le Hutin, took possession of the regency, to the prejudice of the queen, who gave birth to a son, named John. This child only survived a few days. Philip, uncle of the Princess Jeanne, was already in possession of the royal authority. According to a contemporary chronicler, the States-General, called together by Philip in 1317, laid down the principle that in France "women should never inherit the crown." This was the first application of the so-called Salic Law.

The new king bestowed attention on the administration of the interior, appointed the captains-general of the provinces and the captains of the towns, and organized the militia of the communes, decreeing, however, that the arms should remain deposited in the houses of the captains till there was a necessity for their use. Save a rapid and useless expedition into Italy, he had no interior or exterior war to sustain. A horrible persecution of lepers and persons suffering from skin diseases was set on foot in this reign under the pretense that they had poisoned the wells of drinking-water throughout the kingdom. The accused were barbarously executed without any proof except that forced out by horrible tortures. The Jews, suspected of being in complicity with them, perished in the same torments. In the midst of these atrocious executions the king fell ill of a wasting disease, and died at Longchamp, in 1322. This prince gave letters of nobility to persons of mean origin. At last these letters were sold for money, and this innovation, in renewing the aristocracy, altered its character and weakened it. Among the numerous edicts of Philip V., those which organized the militia, the chambers of the exchequer, the administration of the forests and the office of the collectors, indicate the progress of order and the substitution of the despotism supported by law for the despotism sustained by the sword.

Philip V. had one son and four daughters. His son died before him, and, as his daughters were excluded from the throne by the Salic Law, his brother Charles inherited the scepter. He issued ordinances for the purpose of ameliorating the lot of the lepers and

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Jews. There are few things besides in his reign that history has handed down to us.

While the civil war desolated England, Charles, at the instigation of his sister Isabella, wife of Edward II., usurped the rights of that prince in Aquitaine. The English monarch sent his son to him, in order to pay him homage. Charles held back the young prince at his court, as a hostage, and furnished soldiers and money to his sister, in order to fight against her husband. That unfortunate king was made prisoner, and shortly afterwards a frightful death put an end to his days. Charles IV. fell ill at this period, and died on Christmas Day, in the same year, 1328, carried off, like his brothers, in the vigor of his life.

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Chapter VI

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. 1328-1422.

WITH the new reign commenced a long series of disastrous wars between England and France, filling a century and known in history as the "Hundred Years' War." The immediate cause of the war was the question as to whether a Frenchman or an Englishman should sit upon the throne of France; as to whether France should govern itself or should be governed from England.

Jeanne d'Evreux, widow of Charles IV., gave birth to a daughter after the king's death, and, according to the will of the late king, which provided for this contingency, Parlement was summoned to decide between the candidates for the throne. The principals were Philip of Valois, grandson of Philip the Bold, and cousin-german of the last three kings of France, and Edward III., King of England, son of Isabella, sister of those princes. The right of Edward to succeed through his mother was declared to be invalid, but the English monarch, dissatisfied with the decision of the French Parlement, declared that he would sustain his right with the sword. Many years, however, rolled away before he declared war against Philip of Valois, and in the meantime he still paid him homage for the fiefs which he possessed in France.

Philip, Count of Evreux, another grandson of Philip the Bold, and husband of Jeanne, daughter of Louis X., the eldest of the last three Capetians, was the third candidate for the crown. He received from the monarch the kingdom of Navarre, to which his wife had legitimate rights through her grandfather, and which was also detached from the crown of France. But the royal domain, by the accession of Philip of Valois, gained the county of Valois, as well as the provinces of Maine and Anjou, which had been ceded by the House of Anjou to the House of Valois, under Philip IV.

Philip VI. was thirty-six years old when, in 1328, he was recognized as king. This prince was brave, violent, vindictive, and cruel, skillful in all muscular exercises, but ignorant of the first notions

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of the military art and of financial administration. The first act of his reign was an expedition into Flanders to assist Count Louis, who was always at war with his subjects. The bloody battle of Cassel, where some twelve thousand Flemings were slaughtered, restored to the count his states. The issue of a scandalous lawsuit caused the first germs of discord to spring up between Edward III. and Philip VI. Robert of Artois, brother-in-law of Philip, had vainly bribed witnesses, in order to obtain from the king and Parlement that the county of Artois, adjudicated to his aunt Mahaut, should be given up to him. Robert was banished and his possessions confiscated. The superstitious monarch was led to believe that Robert was seeking to compass his death by witchcraft, and the latter, through fear of the king's vengeance, was compelled to find an asylum with Edward, whom he was constantly urging to make war on Philip.

The cruelties of the Count of Flanders had again caused a revolt among his subjects. Ghent had risen, and placed itself under the celebrated master weaver and merchant, Jacques of Artevelt, who was the soul of a new league against Count Louis and France. Having need of the support of England, Artevelt, in the name of the Flemings, recognized Edward as the King of France. The English king soon after entered Flanders at the head of an army and confirmed all the privileges of the Flemings. Philip sustained against him, with superior forces, a defensive warfare, refusing to engage in any general action. The English, nevertheless, took the French fleet by surprise, shut up in a narrow creek near Ecluse, and obtained a complete victory (1340). France lost one hundred and seventy vessels and more than twenty thousand men. This battle was followed by an armistice between the two nations for a year.

A bloody war broke out in the following year in Brittany. John III., duke of that province, had died without issue, and the right of succession was disputed by Charles of Blois, husband of one of his nieces and nephew of the King of France, and Montfort, conqueror of the Albigenses, who was the younger brother of the last duke, and had been disinherited by him. Montfort immediately made himself master of the strongest places, and rendered homage for Brittany to King Edward, whose assistance he implored. The court of peers adjudged the duchy to Charles of Blois. This war, in which Charles of Blois was supported by France and Montfort

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by England, lasted for twenty-four years without interruption, and presented, in the midst of heroic actions, a long course of treacheries and atrocious robberies, among which the most notorious was the murder of Oliver Clisson and fourteen other nobles of Brittany, partisans of Montfort, who had been invited to a tournament by the king and there arrested. Montfort's party appealed to Edward to avenge this act of perfidy, and in the year following an English army, commanded by Edward, disembarked in Normandy and ravaged the kingdom without obstacle until they arrived beneath the walls of Paris.

Philip, appealing to all the nobility of France, assembled around him a formidable army, before which Edward retired. The retreat of the English was difficult. Very inferior in numbers to the French, they passed over the Somme at the ford of Blanchetache, and, compelled to fight, they fortified themselves upon a hill which commanded the village of Cressy, and there placed cannons, which were then for the first time used in European armies (1346). They produced much smoke and noise and did little harm. The French had come by forced marches. If they had taken some repose, by prudent arrangements, victory would have been assured to them, but the impatient Philip, who had scarcely arrived in sight of the enemy, ordered an attack to be made by his Genoese archers, who formed the advanced guard. They endeavored vainly to make him observe that they were exhausted by hunger and fatigue, and that the rain had rendered their crossbows useless. He renewed the order; they advanced with bravery and were repulsed. Philip, furious, caused them to be massacred, and his brother, the Duke of Alençon, trod them down under the hoofs of his cavalry. This ferocious act caused the loss of the army. The English took advantage of the confusion in the front ranks and rushed upon them, and the advanced guard was thrown back upon the general body of the army, where a frightful carnage took place. Three thousand eight hundred Frenchmen lost their lives, and among them eleven princes, twelve hundred nobles or knights, and the chivalrous King of Bohemia, allied with Philip, who, although blind, caused himself to be led into the midst of the affray in order to perish valiantly. The celebrated Black Prince, fifteen years of age, commanded the English, under King Edward, his father, and contributed to the victory. Philip, twice wounded, was forced from the field of battle, accompanied by a few knights and sergeants at arms.

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THE CHARGE OF THE FRENCH KNIGHTS AT THE BATTLE OF CRESSY

Painting by R. Caton Woodville

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The taking of Calais was one of the most fatal results of the defeat of Cressy. The inhabitants of that town, reduced by famine to capitulate after eleven months of courageous defense, were summoned to deliver up to Edward six persons from among them who should suffer for the rest. On this the Sieur Eustache de Saint-Pierre and five others offered themselves for death to appease the wrath of Edward, and the whole six, with ropes round their necks and bearing the keys of the town, were conducted by the governor, John of Vienne, to the English camp. Edward, on seeing them, called for the executioner; but the queen interceded for them and obtained their pardon. All the inhabitants of Calais were driven from the town, which became an English colony; and for two hundred years it was an entrance place into France for foreign armies. The capture of this important place was followed by a truce between the two monarchs.

The disasters of the war took away nothing from the pride or the magnificence of Philip of Valois. To replenish his treasury he altered the coinage and caused new taxes to be sanctioned, among which was the tax called *la gabelle,* transferring to the fiscal power the monopoly of salt throughout all the kingdom. Philip VI. also rendered the power of the inquisition formidable in France; nevertheless, he authorized the appeals from abuse of the ecclesiastical tribunals to the Parlement. In 1350 he married the young Blanche of Navarre, sister of King Charles, surnamed the Bad, and died in less than a month afterwards, at the age of fifty-eight years. He had bought the seigniory of Montpellier, for 120,000 ecus, from James II., last King of Majorca, and acquired from Humbert II. the province of Dauphiné, which was given in appanage to the eldest sons of the kings of France. From that time they bore the name of dauphins. The frontiers of the kingdom were thus extended as far as the Alps.

John was more than thirty years of age when, in 1350, he succeeded his father. His education, although it had been carefully conducted, had made him more a valiant knight than a wise and experienced king. Impetuous in character, irresolute in mind, rash rather than brave, prodigal, obstinate, vindictive and full of pride, perfectly instructed in the laws of chivalry and ignorant of the duties of the throne, he was always ready to sacrifice to the prejudices of honor, as then understood, the rights of his subjects and the interests of the state. France was exhausted at the time

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of his accession. Nevertheless, he spared nothing at the fêtes of his coronation. The expense was so prodigious, and the impoverishment of the royal treasury so great, that the king, in the following year, found himself obliged to call together the Estates of the kingdom. The first acts of his reign were characterized by violence and despotism. He beheaded the Count d'Eu, constable of France, who had come from England as a prisoner on parole to collect his ransom. In one year he issued eighteen ordinances concerning the alteration of the coinage, increasing and diminishing alternately the value of the gold mark, and confiscated to his own profit all the claims of the Jew and Lombard merchants established in the kingdom. He forbade his subjects to pay what they owed to them, under penalty of being compelled to pay a second time. These disastrous ordinances struck a blow at the heart of commerce and threatened to destroy it.

At about this time the truce concluded between England and France expired, and the war was renewed. Edward swore to avenge the murder of the Count d'Eu, which had deprived him of the count's ransom, while Charles, King of Navarre, declared war against France because John had omitted to pay the dowry of his daughter, whom Charles had married, and had given Angouleme, possessed by Jeanne up to 1349, to the Spaniard Charles de la Cerda, his personal enemy. The King of Navarre took the constable by surprise at Aigle, in Normandy, and assassinated him. King John, powerless to reduce him by arms, made a humiliating treaty with him at Valognes in 1355. War, however, broke out with England. The king issued new ordinances for the falsification of the coinage. These measures brought into the treasury only insufficient resources, and to create new means he summoned to Paris, in 1355, the Estates-General of the north of France, called the Langue d'Oil, as the southern states were called Langue d'Oc. The Estates met together on December 2 in the great Palais du Parlement. The Archbishop of Rouen, Pierre de la Forest, Chancellor of France, opened the assembly, and requested subsidies for the war. John de Craon, Archbishop of Rheims, in the name of the clergy, Gauthier de Brienne, Duke of Athens, in the name of the nobility, Etienne Marcel, provost of Paris in the name of the Third Estate, requested permission to consult among themselves concerning the subsides to be granted. They undertook to furnish thirty thousand soldiers and five millions of livres

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1355

to make up the balance for a year, but they wished that this money should remain in the hands of their receivers and be levied by them. They made it also necessary that they should assemble again on March 1 in the following year to receive the accounts of the treasurers, then at the end of a year to renew the taxes, if there were necessity, and to provide for the expenses of the war. The king agreed to respect these conditions; and in order to provide the money required the states raised the tax of *la gabelle,* or the tax upon salt, and established an "aide" of eight deniers in the livre upon the sale of all merchandise. The first of these taxes fell upon a commodity indispensable to all, and struck at the poorest and most numerous class: the second, in which persons of every estate and all conditions were included, wounded the pretensions of the nobility and clergy, and caused an intolerable inquisition to weigh heavily upon the mercantile classes, and interfered with every commercial operation.

Soon fatal symptons of discord made themselves manifest. Trade was depressed; both town and country were opposed to the gabelle and spread complaints against the Estates everywhere. The clergy refused to pay the tax, and many seditions broke out. In the midst of these calamities the time arrived when the Estates ought to assemble anew, but many of the towns abstained from sending representatives, while the Normans and Picards refused to be represented there, and declared that they would not pay the two established taxes. The new Estates-General, much less numerous than their predecessors, abolished the gabelle and the aide of eight deniers in the pound on the sale of all merchandise, and replaced those imposts by a tax rendered proportional to the fortune of each person.

About this time John committed a most disgraceful act in arresting the King of Navarre, the Count of Harcourt and three other nobles, while sitting at table with his son, the dauphin, at the château of Rouen. This was done to satisfy his old grudge against Charles for the murder of the constable, and his resentment against the King of Navarre and the Count of Harcourt for supporting the disaffected who had refused to pay the taxes imposed by the estates. D'Harcourt and the four noblemen were immediately beheaded (1355). Royal dignity saved Charles of Navarre. John spared his head, but he held him prisoner closely confined in a tower of the Louvre and seized his French appanage of Evreux.

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This act of violence drew down great misfortunes on the kingdom. Philip of Navarre, father of King Charles, and Geoffroy of Harcourt, uncle of the beheaded count, immediately united themselves with the King of England and recognized him as the King of France. Edward proclaimed himself the avenger of the executed gentlemen. He sent a formidable army into Normandy, while the Prince of Wales ravaged Auvergne, Limousin, and Berry, and approached Tours. John called together all his nobility. The army assembled in haste in the plains of Chartres and overtook the English in the neighborhood of Poictiers (1356). The Black Prince had only ten thousand soldiers, and he saw before him an army of fifty thousand men, among whom, besides the King of France and his four sons, there were twenty-six dukes, or counts, and a hundred and forty knights banneret. He fixed his camp at Maupertuis, two leagues north of Poictiers, upon a hill whose sides were covered with hedges, bushes and vines, impracticable for cavalry and favorable to sharpshooters. He concealed his archers in the bushes, dug ditches and surrounded himself with palisades and wagons. In fact he converted his camp into a great redoubt, open only in the center by a narrow defile, which was lined by a double hedge. At the top of this defile was the little English army, crowded together and protected on every side. There was, moreover, an ambuscade of six hundred knights and archers behind a small hill which separated the two armies. The French army was disposed in three battalions. The left and most advanced wing was commanded by the Duke of Orleans, brother of the king; the center, somewhat further back, by the sons of the king; the right wing, or reserve, by the king himself. As the battle was about to begin, the Cardinal de Perigord endeavored in vain to act as a mediator. An agreement was impossible and the fighting began.

A corps of three hundred French men-at-arms rushed into the defile; a shower of arrows destroyed it. The corps which followed, disturbed by this attack, threw itself back upon the left wing and threw it into disorder. This was only a combat of the advanced guard, but the English ambuscade throwing itself suddenly upon the center division, that also was seized with panic and terror and took to flight without having fought. The left wing took refuge, in disorder, behind the division of the king, which was already in trouble, but intact. The English went out from the defile in

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CAPTURE OF KING JOHN II OF FRANCE AT THE BATTLE OF POICTIERS, 1356 A.D.
Painting by R. Caton Woodville

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good order, and, advancing into the plain, found before them that division where were the king, his youngest son, and his brilliant company of nobles. The French had still the advantage over their enemies, who were very inferior to them in numbers, but John, remembering to his misfortune that the disaster at Cressy had been caused by the French cavalry, cried out, "On foot! on foot!" He himself descended from his horse and placed himself at the head of his own men, a battle-ax in his hand. The engagement was fierce and bloody. The French knights, unable to struggle on foot against the great horses of the English and the arrows of the archers, fought until they were all killed or taken. The king remained almost alone, with bare head, wounded, intrepid, fighting bravely with his ax, accompanied by his young son, who parried the blows of his enemies. He was obliged to surrender to the Black Prince. Such was the disastrous issue of the celebrated battle of Poictiers.

The dauphin, already named by his father lieutenant-general of the kingdom, assembled at Paris in the same year the Estates of the Langue d'Oil.

Eight hundred deputies were sent to the assembly, which was presided over by Charles de Blois, Duke of Brittany. On the demand for fresh subsidies, they answered by the election of several commissioners, taken from each order, who demanded the power to bring to judgment the counselors of the king and the creation of a permanent council of four prelates, twelve knights, and twelve bourgeois, in order to assist the young regent. Upon these conditions they agreed to furnish an army of thirty thousand men. But the dauphin was not disposed to comply with them, and at last the assembly separated without obtaining anything or granting anything.

Desolation then reigned supreme throughout France. Commerce was annihilated; the soldiers, disbanded and without pay, ravaged the country; the fields remained uncultivated; the overcrowded towns were distressed by famine; while the English were approaching the gates of Paris. Nothing remained for the dauphin but to summon the Estates-General once more in 1357, but the new Estates reproduced the requests of the preceding assembly, adding to them other pretensions and forcing upon him all their demands. In exchange for a subsidy destined to furnish thirty thousand men, and which was to be collected and managed

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not by the people of the king, but by those of the Estates, the dauphin engaged solemnly to turn aside nothing for his personal interest from the money consecrated to the defense of the kingdom, to refuse every letter of pardon for atrocious crimes, no more to sell or farm out the offices of judicature, to establish good money, and to bring about no further change without the consent of the three Estates; such were, in brief, the principal dispositions of the celebrated ordinance of 1357. The dauphin swore besides that he would conclude no truce without the sanction of the Estates, and that he would dismiss as "unworthy of all charge," twenty-two counselors, to whom public hatred attributed all the misfortunes of the country.

King John had been conducted from Poictiers to Bordeaux, thence to London, and during the negotiations on the subject of his ransom, a truce of two years was concluded between England and France. About the same time the death of Geoffroy of Harcourt freed the dauphin from an implacable foe. Charles breathed again. He had only given way by constraint to the wish of the Estates, and he now repudiated all the promises that he had made, retaining the ministers whom he had promised to dismiss and prosecute.

The new Estates, convened jointly by the dauphin and Marcel, the celebrated provost, or chief, of the merchants of Paris, assembled on November 17, 1357, but among the members were found only deputies for the cities. Marcel, as the dauphin braved public opinion by drawing nearer to his person the ministers and great officers condemned by the preceding Estates, and threatened to reëstablish all the former abuses, had recourse to violent measures. He made the Parisians adopt a national color, and gave them for a rallying sign a red and blue hood, the colors of the town of Paris. He appeared, followed by armed men, before the dauphin, and caused to be massacred in his presence the Lord of Conflans, marshal of Champagne, and Robert of Clermont, marshal of Normandy, both of whom had been proscribed by the Estates. The dauphin begged his life from Marcel, who placed upon his head the red and blue hood and conducted him to the Hôtel de Ville under the safeguard of the popular colors. Marcel was king in Paris.

The nobility and clergy, however, were indignant at seeing the despised bourgeois exercising a power equal to their own, and

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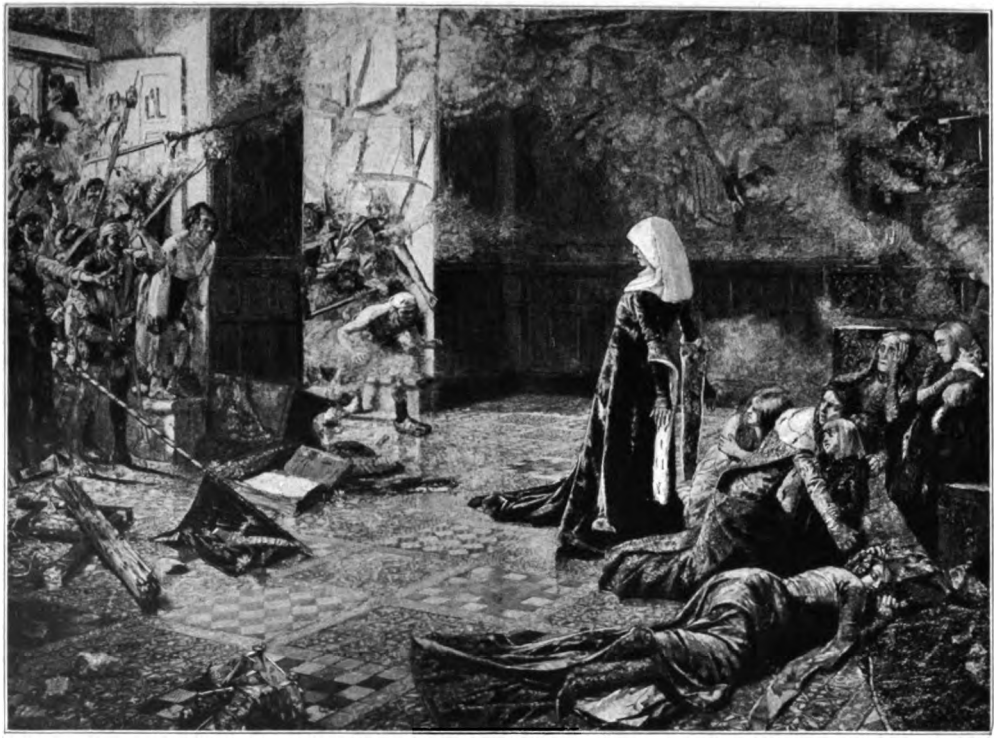

THE JACQUERIE

Revolted peasants of the Beauvais sacking a nobleman's castle

Painting by G. Rochegrosse

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the murder of the marshals caused discord to break out. The nobles of Champagne assembled and demanded vengeance from the dauphin, who called together the Estates at Compiègne, far from the center of agitation. The nobility alone presented themselves in great numbers and the reaction became imminent. Marcel foresaw the storm and prepared for the combat. He attacked the Louvre, then out of the capital, and took possession of it; he united the town with the chateau and fortified the precinct within the walls. The regent called round him the nobility, and assembled seven thousand lancers; while, by the advice of Marcel, the bourgeois of Paris took as their captain-general the King of Navarre, whom John de Pequigny had rescued by force of arms from the castle of Arloux, where he had been detained a prisoner by King John. Civil war commenced, and with it a new scourge showed itself (1358).

The country people, powerless against the oppression which presented itself on every side, overcharged with taxes, despised by the bourgeois, pillaged by the soldiers, suffered at this period from intolerable evils. In the Beauvais they arose in a mass against the nobles, pillaging and burning their castles. This rising received in history the name of "the Jacquerie." It was soon suppressed. The nobility, invincible under its iron armor, exterminated the peasants without mercy. Dispersed before Meaux, they nearly all perished, and the plains throughout many provinces became deserted.

Paris was then besieged by the army of the dauphin. The bourgeois suspected Charles the Bad of treachery, and dismissed him. Soon the peril of the capital became extreme, and Charles was invited back by Marcel, who half promised to proclaim him King of France. The King of Navarre accepted the offer, but the execution of Marcel's plan was frustrated by the murder of the provost. The death of Marcel smoothed the way for the regent, who entered Paris as a conqueror, but conducted himself with wisdom and moderation.

The celebrated Treaty of Brétigny, near Chartres, terminated at last the hostilities between France and England. Its principal articles declared that Guienne, Poitou, south Gascony, Ponthieu, Calais, and some fiefs should remain entirely in the possession of the King of England; that Edward should renounce his pretensions to the crown of France, to Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Touraine,

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and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; and that John should pay three millions of gold crowns for his ransom. The two sovereigns confirmed this treaty at Calais in 1360.

Great calamities followed the deliverance of King John. The people were laid under arbitrary taxation, and their misery increased; the fields remained uncultivated; and famine, followed by a plague of three years' duration, devastated the kingdom.

In the midst of so many evils a happy circumstance occurred for France. John acquired Burgundy by the death of Philip, the last duke, whom he succeeded as next of kin. This province he gave as an appanage to his fourth son, Philip, whose valorous conduct at Poictiers had gained for him the surname of "the Bold" and the paternal predilection. Thus the second House of Burgundy was founded, which rendered itself so formidable in France. While contemplating a new crusade in conjunction with the King of Cyprus, John learned that his son, the Duke of Anjou, had fled from England, where he had left him as a hostage. Impatient to show that he had no participation whatever in his son's act, he demanded a safe conduct, obtained it, and returned to England, where he died in 1364.

When Charles V. ascended the throne, in 1364, he was twenty-nine years of age. He had already governed France for nearly eight years. Nothing then announced in him the restorer of the monarchy. Not much esteemed by the nobility, hated by the bourgeoisie, weak in body and of a sickly constitution, everything appeared likely to become an obstacle during his reign. And yet, by his address and prudence more than by great talent, he was enabled to reconquer a large part of the provinces which his father had lost.

Nothing threw more brilliancy upon the reign of Charles V., and contributed more to his success, than the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin. A Breton nobleman, with no personal advantages, accomplishments, or fortune, of a mind so little opened that he could never learn to read, he had nothing apparently of that which announces a hero, except his valor and skill in the management of arms.

His first exploit for Charles was a victory. The town of Mantes, which belonged to the King of Navarre, and that of Meulan had fallen into the hands of the French. The lord, or seignior, of Buch, a brave Gascon captain in the service of Charles

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the Bad, made arrangements in order to take his revenge, and awaited the French in the neighborhood of Cocherel, near Evreux (1364). Here Du Guesclin, who had not his equal in strategems of war, drew the enemy into an ambuscade by a feigned retreat, and routed them. The lord and his followers fought bravely, but victory inclined to the French, and the lord was taken prisoner. The men of Navarre, without a chief, dispersed, only a small number contriving to escape. The victory of Cocherel placed in submission to Charles V. nearly the whole of Normandy. He received the news at Rheims, in the midst of the fêtes of his coronation, and recompensed Du Guesclin by the gift of the county of Longueville.

The twenty-four years' war in Brittany between the son of John de Montfort, allied with the English, and Charles de Blois, sustained by France, was brought to an end by the battle of Aurai, when the latter was slain. This battle was soon followed by the Treaty of Guerande, which assured the duchy of Brittany to Montfort (1365). Charles V. found himself at last at peace with all his neighbors. His people began to breathe again, and order and peace existed once more. But the companies of adventurers consisting of men who lived by war and were ever ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, those brigands who considered themselves as belonging to no country, suddenly found themselves without employment as soon as France was at peace, and began to commit frightful ravages throughout the country. The king, unable to exterminate them, was compelled to employ them, and he sent them under the command of Du Guesclin against Peter, King of Castile, surnamed the Cruel, who, it was reported, had poisoned his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, a relation of the King of France, and ordered the murder of his natural brother, Henry of Transtamare, who had implored Charles V. to assist him and place him on his brother's throne. These terrible adventurers entered Spain, and the troops of Peter disbanded themselves before them. That prince, repulsed by his subjects, abandoned his throne to his rival, and retired to the court of the Prince of Wales, who received him at Bordeaux with great honors, and Henry took possession of the crown of Castile without obstacle. But Peter solicited succor from the English, and the Prince of Wales armed in his favor without breaking with France. The great companies who had just established Transtamare on the throne turned now to the side of his

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brother, drawn by the appetite for gold which he promised them. Du Guesclin supported Transtamare, but the latter was conquered by the Prince of Wales at the battle of Navarette (1367), and Du Guesclin was made prisoner. Peter the Cruel recovered his kingdom, and his brother sought refuge with the Duke of Anjou, eldest of the brothers of Charles V. and commandant of Languedoc.

Du Guesclin, ransomed by Charles V., who sent him anew into Spain at the head of his army, by the victory of Montiel (1369) replaced Transtamare, for a second time, upon the throne of Castile. Peter the Cruel was made prisoner. On meeting, the rival brothers engaged in a deadly combat, and Peter died, stabbed by the hand of Henry.

At this period Charles contemplated the recovery of those provinces which had been ceded to the English by his father, and fomented revolt in all the provinces given over to England by the Treaty of Brétigny. A rising broke out in Gascony on the occasion of a hearth-tax, an imposition established by the English prince upon each fire. The Gascons appealed to the King of France, as sovereign of Guienne and of Gascony, and Charles V., in contempt of the Treaty of Brétigny, which granted these provinces in complete sovereignty to Edward, received their appeal, and caused the Black Prince to be summoned before the chamber of peers as his subject. The Prince of Wales disregarded the summons, and the court of peers issued, in 1370, a decision declaring that, in default of having appeared before it, Edward was deprived of his rights with regard to Aquitaine and his other possessions in France, and confiscated them to the profit of the crown. The English monarch, justly indignant, assembled a powerful army, which disembarked at Calais, under the command of the Duke of Lancaster. Charles V. ordered his generals to watch the enemy, to impede his movements, and to decline to give battle. His orders were obeyed; and Lancaster was allowed to make his way to Paris, where his army arrived exhausted and almost destroyed by disease, fatigue, and scarcity of provisions. The fortune of England tottered: the Prince of Wales, whose last sad exploit was the sack of Limoges, had just died; Edward's fleet had been conquered at Rochelle by the navy of Castile; his powerful army had consumed itself; already the fruits of the victory of Poictiers were lost to him and France had recovered nearly all its provinces. The old king, so formidable in times of old and now so humiliated, signed the Truce

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1375-1380

of Bruges with Charles V. (1375), and shortly afterwards died, leaving the throne to his grandson, the unfortunate Richard II.

Freed from his most dangerous enemy, Charles abandoned himself to his revenge against his brother-in-law, Charles the Bad, then in Spain, where he meditated an alliance with England. He compelled the son of that prince, who had come without distrust to his court, to sign an order which gave over to the French all the places possessed by his father in Normandy. Bernay, Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Avranches, Mortain, Valognes opened their gates; and in Normandy the town of Cherbourg alone belonged to the King of Navarre, who was thus all but expelled from his Norman possessions.

The end of Charles's reign was not free from storms. The king saw awakening round him in all directions symptoms of that fermentation, of that liberal tendency in men's minds, which he had always taken great care to suppress. New sects were formed, and the great schism of the West stimulated throughout Europe the spirit of doubt and of inquiry.

Gregory XI. died in 1378 at Anagni, and the College of Cardinals at Rome gave him for a successor Bartholomew Prignano, who took the name of Urban VI. The French cardinals, opponents of the new Pope, declared that his election was illegal, and chose Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII., and took up his residence at Avignon. Such was the origin of the famous schism of the West. Europe was divided between the two rival Popes. Charles V. declared himself for Clement, who resided in France; his allies, the sovereigns of Naples, of Castile and Aragon, followed his example. The party of Urban VI. was embraced by England, Bohemia, Hungary, Portugal, and Flanders.

The symptoms of agitation thus visibly arising were not the only alarming movements which he saw in his latter years. Conqueror of the English without having fought them, he thought himself master enough over the minds of the Bretons to confiscate their province, which had been secured to John of Montfort by the Treaty of Guérande, and to unite it to his domain. Charles V. did not gather any fruit from this unjust act. The inhabitants of that country rose to a man in defense of the rights of their duke; the brave Breton captains left the royal army; and even Du Guesclin, always faithful to the king, disapproved of his course and sought

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to retire to Spain in order to die there, feeling that he could no longer act as constable of France. His resignation of the office that he had held with honor for so many years was prevented, however, by his death, which was occasioned by a fatal malady, in 1380, before Chateau-Randon, in Gevaudan.

Charles persevered in his objects of usurpation, but his troops were driven from Brittany, and he met everywhere with the same unanimity against himself which a short time ago had been shown in his favor against the English. Louis, Count of Flanders, also solicited assistance at the same time against his revolted subjects. A formidable rising also broke out in Languedoc, where the Duke of Anjou, brother of the king, crushed the people by an intolerable oppression. Charles was compelled to recall his brother, and took his government from him. He, lastly, saw the King of Navarre give up Cherbourg to the English, and a new English army fall upon the kingdom. He ordered that it should be received in the same manner as that which preceded it. In the meanwhile he died at his castle of Beauty, on the Marne, on September 16, 1380, at the age of forty-four years.

Charles VI. had arrived at the age of eleven years and some months when his father died. His uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, disputed among themselves concerning his guardianship and the regency. They agreed to emancipate the young king immediately after his coronation, which was to take place at once, and the regency was to remain until that period in the hands of the eldest, the Duke of Anjou, whose first act was to appropriate the treasure amassed by the late king. Nature had endowed Charles VI. with amiable qualities, but his uncles vied with each other in stifling his happy disposition, bent on persuading him that the most glorious triumphs for a king are those which he gains over his own subjects. A wise administration could have closed the wounds of the people. The English army conducted into Brittany by Buckingham was dissolved, and the sixteen millions left by Charles V. would have been more than sufficient to free France from the foreigners. But the Duke of Anjou, adopted by Jeanne of Naples as her successor, and impatient to be seated on her throne, had reserved this treasure to defray the expenses of an expedition against Charles of Durazzo, his rival. He raised a numerous army; it perished in Italy, destroyed by privations, fatigue, and disease, and he himself died miserably

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1382-1384

in the country which he had come to conquer. The beginning of this reign was signalized by popular movements. A report had spread about that the late king on his deathbed had decreed abolition of all the taxes, and, fearing an insurrection, the governing princes issued a decree abolishing in perpetuity the established taxes that had existed since the time of Philip the Fair. However, it was necessary to provide for the cost of the war against England and for other expenses, and it was determined to reestablish a tax upon merchandise of every kind. Immediately a formidable tumult broke out. The Parisians ran to the arsenal, where they found mallets of lead intended for the defense of the town; and, under the blows from these many Jews and collectors of the new tax perished. From the weapons used the insurgents took the name of "Maillotins." Rheims, Chalons, Orleans, Blois, and Rouen followed the example of the capital. The dukes, powerless to make the Parisians submit, treated with them, and contented themselves with the offer of eighty thousand livres.

In 1382 war broke out between France and Flanders. Count Louis of Flanders, driven away by his people, whose municipal franchises he had violated every day, now burning with a desire to avenge himself, obtained the support of Charles VI., and a large army was sent into Flanders under Clisson, who was appointed constable. The Flemings, fifty thousand strong, under Philip Artevelt, son of the famous merchant who was leader of the sedition in 1336, met the French near Rosebek, and were utterly defeated and lost their leaders. Courtray was given over to pillage and totally destroyed. The victorious army returned to Paris; the moment for striking the rebels had arrived. The Parisians perceived that defense was impossible, and received the order to lay down their arms. The young king of fourteen years entered the town as an irritated conqueror, and proceeded to take vengeance on the inhabitants. Many were executed. The wealth of the bourgeoisie was confiscated, all the taxes were reëstablished, and Paris lost its municipal privileges, together with the right of electing its provost and civil magistrates. Rouen and other towns that had followed the lead of the capital were treated in a similar manner.

The Flemings, who, though crushed, were not conquered, sought the aid of Richard II. of England, who sent an army into Flanders. The English troops sacked the towns which were occupied by French garrisons, contrary to the wish of their inhab-

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itants. Charles VI. marched forward to meet the English, and Flanders became a theater of incendiarism and murder. At last both parties, tired of the strife, commenced to treat for peace. The Count of Flanders alone, furious against the town of Ghent for its prolonged resistance, impeded the negotiations, but his death put an end to hostilities. A truce was signed in 1384, and Flanders passed to the Duke of Burgundy, who had married Marguerite, heiress to that powerful county. Ghent submitted to that prince in the following year, and preserved all its franchises.

In 1386 Charles assembled a large army, gathered a great sum of money, and made immense preparations for a descent upon England, but the expedition was abandoned by the advice of the Duke of Berry. The supplies were abandoned to the pillage of the chiefs of the army, and three millions of livres were thus lost without profit either to the king or to the nation. Two years later Charles, always enamored of war, and directed by his uncles, sustained the Duke of Brabant, and made war for him, without success, against the Duke of Gueldres. Harassed and pursued by German marauders, his army returned to France in distress and burdened with humiliations. The eyes of the king were at length opened by the Cardinal of Laon and other ancient counselors of his father, who advised him to assume the government himself. Charles permitted himself to be convinced, and, in a great council, he signified to his uncles that for the future he alone would govern. This unexpected declaration announced a happy revolution for the nation at large, and Charles VI. then turned himself to wise measures in the interests of the people. He would have done much more in the same direction if he had had more knowledge and less taste for pleasure. The king now turned his attention to the interior of the kingdom and undertook a journey to the south of France. He found Languedoc wasted and depopulated through the barbarity of the Duke of Berry, whom Charles dismissed from his government. He afterwards freed the province from the brigands who infested it. Lastly, interesting himself in the progress of the morality of the people and in military instruction, he closed the gaming-houses and opened everywhere shooting-grounds for the bow and the crossbow. These happy omens of a better future were of short duration. The assassination of the Constable of Clisson, chief of the government, was attempted by brigands in the pay of Montfort, Duke of Brittany, his mortal

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enemy. Clisson did not die from his wounds, and the king, in a fury, swore to avenge him. He commanded the duke to deliver up Craon, the chief of the assassins, who had taken refuge with him. Montfort refused, and Charles marched into Brittany. He went out from Mans, at the head of his troops, in July, 1392, but on the march he was suddenly stricken with insanity.

Then commenced the third and fatal epoch of that disastrous reign. The faction of the dukes again seized power. The Duke of Burgundy took possession of the right of the royal signature and exercised sole authority; the council of the king was broken up; the constable took flight and retired into Brittany, where he recommenced the war against Montfort; the Jews were driven from the kingdom; the shooting-grounds for the crossbow were closed and the gambling-houses opened. Such were the first deeds which signalized that trying period. Soon after, frightful dissensions broke out among the princes themselves, and, as no fundamental law existed which could regulate the future of the monarchy and decide between so many rival pretensions, the fate of the state was abandoned to a royal council which was ruled by the uncles of the king, his wife, the Queen Isabelle, of Bavaria, a frivolous and money-loving woman, and, lastly, by the Duke of Orleans, brother of the king, who was as despotic and avaricious as his uncles. Charles was still considered to be reigning, but always subservient to the dominant party. He appeared to employ his few glimmerings of reason only in sanctioning the most tyrannical acts and the most odious abuses. It was in this manner that the kingdom of France was governed during twenty-eight years.

The unhappy monarch attributed his disease to the schism which desolated Christianity, and believed himself punished by Heaven for having neglected to extinguish it. Benedict XIII. had replaced the anti-pope, Clement VII. In vain the king urged him and the legitimately-elected Pope, Boniface IX., to a mutual cession. To add to the disorder in Christendom, that was induced by the quarrel of the rival Popes and their partisans, the Greek Empire and Hungary were invaded by the ferocious Sultan Bayezid. Sigismund, afterwards emperor and then king of Hungary, requested assistance from France. A brilliant army of ten thousand set out under the orders of the Count of Nevers, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, but under the walls of Nicopolis (1396), in Bulgaria, the Christian army was exterminated by Bayezid, and the

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conqueror only spared the lives of twenty princes and high nobles, for whom he hoped to receive immense ransoms.

It was in the interest of the council of the King of France to keep on good terms with Henry IV., who was now reigning in England in room of his cousin, Richard II., who had been deposed and murdered, but the Duke of Orleans, whose influence increased every day, was bent upon exciting his anger by deadly insults. He broke the truce and let loose the most frightful calamities upon the kingdom. This prince, after the death of his uncle, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in 1404, exercised without curb an absolute power, but soon met with a formidable rival in the new Duke of Burgundy, the same John, Count of Nevers, who was conquered at Nicopolis, a vindictive, cruel and ambitious prince, fatal to his race and his country. He arrived from his county of Flanders at the head of an army. At his approach the queen and the Duke of Orleans retired to Melun, but Burgundy seized the royal princes and princesses and guarded them in Paris, where he flattered the popular passions. His rival assembled troops, and civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the two enemies were apparently reconciled. On the following day the startling news was spread that the Duke of Orleans had been assassinated. The Duke of Burgundy acknowledged his responsibility for the murder and was expelled from the council. Master of Paris, no one dared to speak openly against him, and his crime, indeed, was publicly vindicated before the court on the ground that the Duke of Orleans was deservedly put to death for tyranny. The murderer only consented at a later period to demand the pardon of the king and of the young princes of Orleans; peace was sworn between them at Chartres, and the bad faith of those who signed the treaty caused it to receive the name of the "Underhand Peace." A slight calm succeeded these storms. But soon the members of the council, jealous of the ever-increasing popularity of the Duke of Burgundy, and disquieted about their own safety, quitted Paris and rejoined at Gien the young princes of Orleans, of whom the eldest married the daughter of Count Bernard of Armagnac. This pitiless man became the chief of the Armagnac party, as it was called, and, at the head of an army of Gascons, marched on Paris. A frightful war, interrupted by truces violated on both sides, commenced between the party of Armagnac and that of Burgundy. Both sides appealed to the English, and sold France to them. The Armagnacs pillaged and

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ravaged the environs of Paris with unheard of cruelties, while the "Cabochiens," or corps of butchers, enrolled by the Duke of Burgundy, and so called from John Caboche, their chief, caused the capital they defended to tremble. The Estates-General, convoked for the first time in thirty years, were dumb, and the butchers made the laws. They pillaged, imprisoned and slaughtered with impunity, according to their savage fury, and found judges to condemn their victims. They besieged in his hotel the Duke of Guienne, dauphin of France, threatened him with death, and murdered his friends and favorites. The king, always a slave to the party which ruled near him, approved and sanctioned, without understanding all these excesses, which terrified even Burgundy himself. The reaction broke out at last. Tired of so many atrocities, the bourgeoisie took up arms and shook off the yoke of the butchers. The dauphin, at the head of the militia, went to the Hôtel de Ville, from which place he drove out Caboche and his brigands. The counter revolution was established. Burgundy departed, and the power passed to the Armagnacs. The princes reëntered Paris and induced the king to declare war against John the Fearless, whose instrument he had been a short time before. His army was victorious, Burgundy submitted, and the Treaty of Arras suspended the war, but not the executions and the ravages.

Henry V., King of England, judged this a propitious moment to descend upon France. The invaders disembarked without obstacle at the mouth of the Seine and invested Harfleur, then a town of great maritime importance and one of the keys of the kingdom, which only succumbed after a month of heroic defense. During the siege the English army had suffered enormous losses by disease, and of thirty thousand men that Henry had brought over not more than fifteen thousand remained. This number was insufficient to conquer the kingdom, and Henry, expecting to meet with little or no resistance on his way on account of the unsettled state of the country, resolved to march on Calais, where he reckoned upon halting and receiving reinforcements.

After crossing the Somme the English found a French army three or four times more numerous, under the Constable d'Albret and the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, awaiting them on the other side of the river, near to the village of Azincourt. The armies passed the night opposite to each other, the French on horseback in the rain. On the side of the English, whose peril was imminent,

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everything, by order of the king, was said and done in subdued tones and in darkness. Among the French, on the contrary, great fires were lighted, and all was noise, agitation and confusion. The English after waiting the whole forenoon for the French to attack, began the battle. The French cavalry, restricted for want of space, dismounted under a shower of arrows and rushed upon the sharp stakes which the English had planted. On seeing the confusion in the ranks the English issued from their fortified enclosure and, with the king at their head, penetrated to the middle of the second line of the enemy. The rearguard of the French still remained intact, but seeing the first two ranks overcome, they hardly waited for the shock, but turned their bridles and fled. The battle was finished, when someone came to Henry V. and told him that the camp was attacked by a fresh army, and Henry, seeing the numerous prisoners that he had made, and for whom he expected heavy ransoms, ordered that all the captives should be put to death. The alarm was found to be false, but already nearly all had perished. Extended on the field of battle might be seen seven thousand French, nearly all nobles. Among the few surviving prisoners were the Marshal of Boucicaut, the Counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont, and the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans. The conqueror king, master of the sad field, cast his eyes slowly around him, and having asked the name of a neighboring château, was told that it was Azincourt. "Well," said he, "this battle shall take the name of Azincourt, now and forever."

In Paris, more terrible than before, civil war broke out. The Count of Armagnac, appointed constable, reigned by terror only. The Queen Isabelle of Bavaria alone could equal the authority of Armagnac; she was sent into exile by her husband to Tours. Burgundy took away the queen from her guardians and proclaimed her regent. Soon after, the Burgundians entered Paris, from which place the provost, Tanneguy-Duchâtel, carried off the young dauphin, Charles, the last and only surviving son of the king. The populace rose again under the leadership of the executioner, Capeluche; they seized the Count of Armagnac with his partisans, and put them to death. The queen, Isabelle, brought back by the Duke of Burgundy, made her triumphal entry into the town sullied by so many horrors, and took in hand the sovereign authority. The faction of Orleans then conducted the dauphin to Poictiers and recognized him as regent.

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1418-1422

Henry V. pursued his ravages into the heart of the kingdom. He had entirely conquered Normandy; Rouen also had fallen into his power. The French princes seemed at last to perceive the necessity of union. The dauphin had appointed an interview with the Duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau; the duke, after hesitating for a long time, presented himself. Angry words were exchanged, hands sought the hilts of swords, but before blood had been shed Duchâtel led the dauphin away. A few minutes later the duke fell, bleeding from many wounds. This murder made peace impossible. Philip the Good, the new Duke of Burgundy, in order to avenge his father, offered the crown to Henry V., and the queen negotiated between her insane husband and Henry V. the shameful Treaty of Troyes, signed in 1420, by which, in contempt of the rights of the royal princes of France, the crown was bestowed in perpetuity on Henry and his descendants. This treaty, which could not go into effect until the death of King Charles VI., was immediately sealed by the marriage of her daughter to Henry, to whom the regency of the kingdom during the malady of the king was entrusted. The treaty was solemnly approved of by the Estates-General, convoked in the capital and presided over by the king. The dauphin, sixteen years of age, was declared guilty by the Parlement of homicide on the person of the Duke of Burgundy and deprived of his rights to the throne. He succeeded, however, in detaching Languedoc from the Burgundian party and in making himself master of the south of France.

The sudden death of Henry V., in 1422, prepared a new destiny for the dauphin. Charles VI. died shortly afterward; he had occupied the throne for forty-two years.

Catherine of Valois, daughter of Charles VI. and wife of Henry V., had brought into the world a son who succeeded his father in 1422 under the name of Henry VI. He was then scarcely a year old and was crowned at Paris as King of France and England. The Duke of Bedford, eldest brother of Henry V., governed the kingdom in the name of his nephew and succeeded in attaching to himself the two greatest vassals of the crown, John VI., Duke of Brittany, and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. The latter, in order to avenge more surely his father's assassination, bestowed the hand of his sister on the Duke of Bedford and was for a long time the firmest supporter of the English in France.

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Chapter VII

JOAN OF ARC AND THE LIBERATION OF FRANCE
1422-1461

THE dauphin Charles, then nineteen years old, had taken, immediately after the death of his father, the title of king and resided at Bourges with the queen, Marie of Anjou, his wife. His authority was recognized in more than half of France, yet he made little effort to exercise it, and his enemies contemptuously referred to him as the "King of Bourges." The soldiers of the army of Charles were for the most part Scots and Gascons. His constable even, the Count of Buchan, was a Scotchman, and the king, surrounded by savage men, appeared for a long time to take as little interest as the people themselves in his own cause. The battle of Crevant-sur-Yonne (1423), lost by his troops, and that of Verneuil (1424), still more disastrous, where the constable perished, caused Charles VII. to perceive the necessity of having powerful supporters. He fixed his choice upon the famous Richemont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, and made him constable. Richemont accepted only on condition that the Armagnacs should be driven from the court and that Charles should separate himself from the assassins of John the Fearless. Tanneguy-Duchâtel, the most powerful and the most guilty, left the first, and hastened by his voluntary exile the useful bringing together of Richemont and the king. Without character and without will, incapable of any serious occupation, indolent and voluptuous, Charles seemed incapable of doing anything to inspire confidence in his supporters: his party was weakening every day, and discord reigned in his camp. Already the English threatened Orleans, the most important of the towns still remaining faithful; they had made themselves masters of the head of the bridge and the outworks, notwithstanding the bravery of La Hire, of Xaintrailles, of Gaucourt, and above all of the famous Dunois, bastard son of Orleans, the true and brave defenders of the French monarchy. Lastly, the defeat of the French at the Battle of the Herrings, in 1429, appeared to give

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1429

the finishing stroke to the fall of that town and to inflict a mortal wound upon the cause of Charles.

But in proportion to the new triumphs gained by the English, their yoke became more intolerable, and developed in the kingdom a national sentiment capable of working prodigies if it were set in action by hope and confidence. Religious enthusiasm mingled itself in the heart of the French, who, seeing in their misfortunes the chastisements of an avenging God, awaited the end of their sufferings from the Divinity alone. Such were, in 1429, the sentiments of the mass of the nation, when a young girl of seventeen years, named Jeanne d'Acre, afterwards called Joan of Arc, born of poor parents in the village of Domrémy, upon the frontiers of Lorraine, announced that she had received from God a mission to cause the siege of Orleans to be raised, to conduct the dauphin to Rheims to his coronation, and to drive the English from France. She declared that supernatural voices had revealed to her the heavenly will, and requested to be led to Chinon to Charles VII. "She was a robust young girl with brown hair, in whom feminine charm was allied with masculine vigor. She talked with malicious humor and a merry vivacity, having a response for everything. She did not have the somber rudeness of a Saint Catherine of Sienna, nor the languors of mystics burned by divine love. In the enthusiastic outbursts that raised her from earth to heaven, she maintained a solid good sense and a fine sentiment of the reality." Brought into his presence, she distinguished him, it is said, upon the spot, among all his courtiers, and going to him she secretly announced her mission. After submitting her to a series of interrogations, conducted by theologians, Charles, placing faith in her word, caused a complete suit of armor to be given to her. She wished to have a white standard sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis. The report soon spread among the two armies that a being endowed with supernatural power had come to fight for Charles VII., and, while the French saw divine intervention in this prodigy, the English, stricken with terror, only wished to recognize in it the influence of the devil. For her first exploit, Jeanne, notwithstanding the strict blockade, conducted into Orleans an army which had left Blois, and in a few days Suffold and Talbot, the generals of the English troops investing the city, were compelled to raise the siege (1429). From that time Jeanne, under the name of the Maid of Orleans, soon became celebrated throughout the whole kingdom.

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France awoke, enthusiasm gained men's hearts, and a crowd of soldiers rushed to join the standard of Charles. Everywhere the English fell back. At last Jeanne and her army met them and defeated them with terrible slaughter after a long and obstinate combat at Patay, in the plains of Beauce (1429).

After this glorious battle Jeanne d'Arc went to find the king at Gien, and conjured him to march boldly upon Rheims, there to cause himself to be crowned and solemnly to take possession of his kingdom. Charles allowed himself to be persuaded, and advanced across Champagne with his army. Troyes and Chalons opened their gates to him, and he arrived at last under the walls of Rheims, at the glorious end of his journey. The Burgundian captains, who commanded the town, evacuated it without giving battle. Charles on July 16 made his triumphal entry, and the next day he was crowned in the ancient cathedral. The Maid of Orleans placed herself near to the king and the principal altar during the ceremony, standing erect with her standard in her hand.

Jeanne's mission was not yet ended. She had come to drive the English from the kingdom. She continued to fight in the army of the king, was wounded at the unfortunate siege of Paris, and lastly taken prisoner in a sortie while heroically defending Compiègne against the English and Burgundians. By the English she was delivered over to the inquisition, as suspected of magic and sorcery, and by her merciless judges, at the head of whom was a Frenchman, Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, who was altogether devoted to the English by vengeance and ambition, she was condemned to be burned alive, and suffered with fortitude and resignation in the market-place of Rouen on May 30, 1431.

Charles heard of her death with indifference. He did nothing to prevent it or to avenge it, and waited for twenty-five years before ordering that the memory of the heroine should be reinstated. He had again fallen into his culpable indolence and failed again in his fortune, while his captains fought separately as chiefs of partisans; they received from him no order, no pay, no support, and submitted the country where they ruled to frightful exactions. The English, however, were still more odious to the people; the foreigners and their allies, the Burgundians, were equally detested, and insurrections broke out in all parts of the kingdom. In 1432, however, the Duchess of Bedford, sister of the Duke of Burgundy, died, and her death broke the ties of that duke with England. Burgundy sacri-

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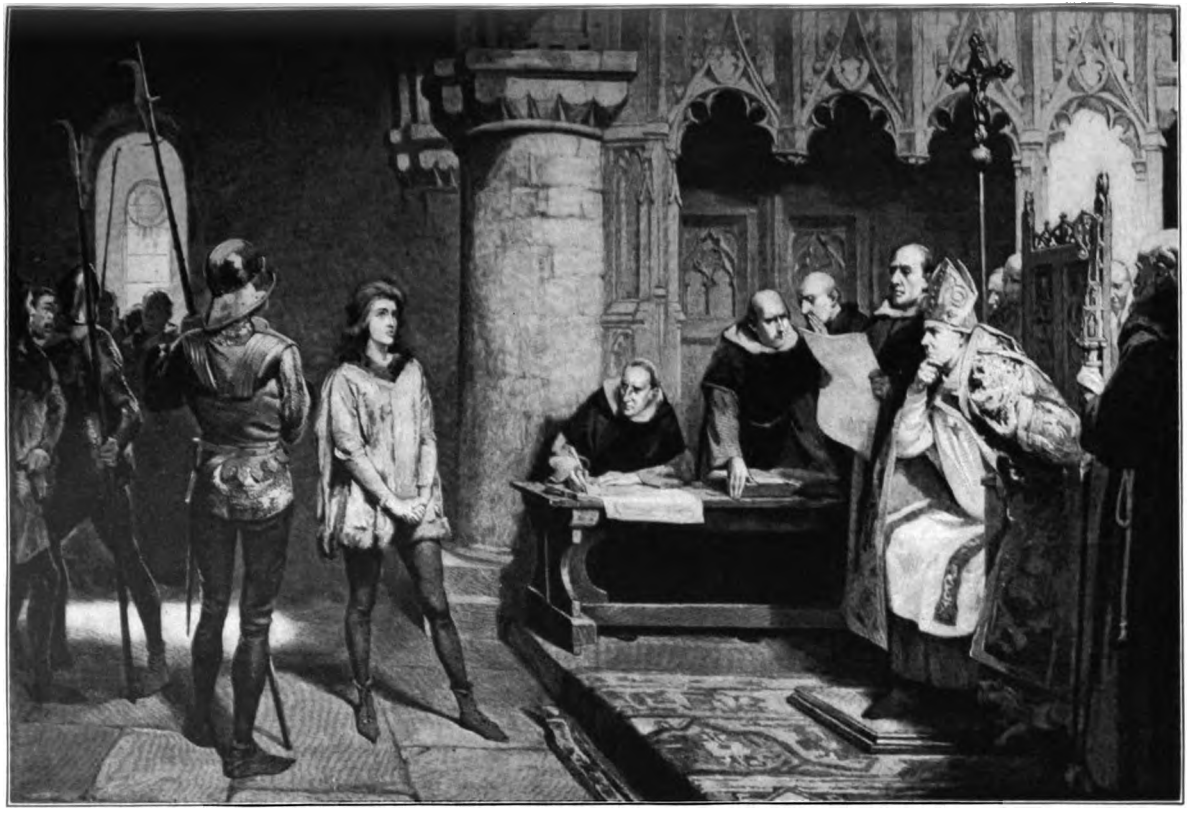

JOAN OF ARC ON TRIAL BEFORE THE INQUISITION AT ROUEN, FEBRUARY 21, 1431

Painting by Fred Roe

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ficed at last this long resentment to the interest of France and became reconciled to Charles VII. in the Peace of Arras, 1435. At last France was united, and the maintenance of the English dominion became impossible. Paris, after belonging to the crown of England for seventeen years, opened her gates to her king, and soon the English only remained in Normandy and Guienne.

After repressing the mercenary bands which infested and pillaged many parts of the kingdom after the long war, Charles convoked the Estates-General at Orleans, and asked and obtained from them a tax of twelve hundred thousand livres for the pay of a permanent army to insure the internal peace of the country. Some years later the king completed the organization of this army by compelling each parish to furnish, at the king's call, a good infantry soldier fully equipped, and on whom the military service conferred several privileges, high pay, and exemption from taxes. These foot soldiers were called free archers. This reconstruction of the military system produced important results. The king thus obtained an army always numerous and always ready to concentrate in mass upon all points menaced by revolt or war. To the Estates-General of 1439 must be attributed, in fact, the merit of this creation, for it was by them that the first necessary funds were granted. However, they had only granted the tax of twelve hundred thousand livres for one year; the king on his own authority made it perpetual. Thus was established in France illegally the direct permanent tax. At first it was popular, but there were bad readjustments of the impost, its amount was always increasing, and above all the innumerable immunities admitted later on in favor of the privileged classes rendered it hateful throughout the whole kingdom. Under the new régime commerce sprang up again, agriculture became flourishing, and the king was hailed as the restorer of order. The military aristocracy, however, could not see, without uneasiness, the progress of the royal power, and broke into a revolt under the dauphin, who was afterwards Louis XI., and the princes of royal blood and the captains of the "Ecorcheurs" offered themselves. They wished to recommence a civil war, but Charles VII., at the head of a disciplined army, marched against the rebels, who one after the other submitted. One only remained formidable, and that was the prince who was heir to the crown. He retired into Dauphiné, and from that time a deep enmity existed between father and son.

After having pacified the interior, Charles VII., profiting by

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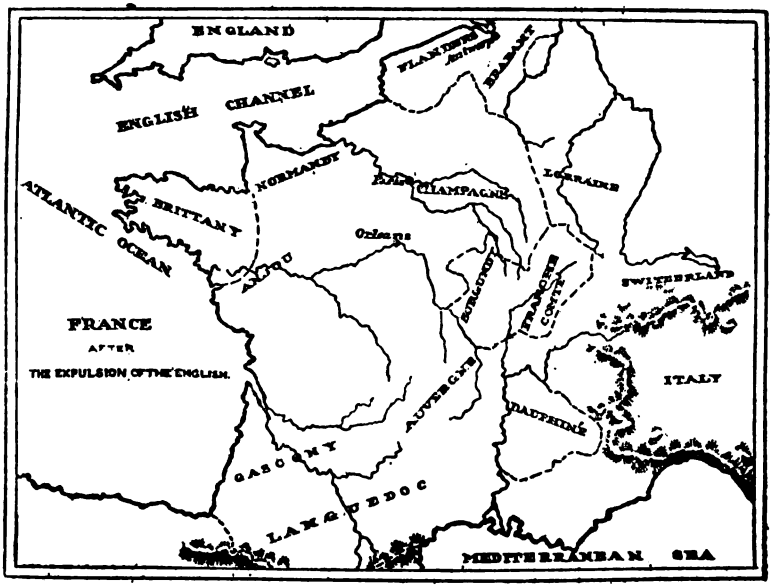
the civil wars which were exhausting England, tried to expel the enemy from the kingdom. In a year half of the fortified places in Normandy were reconquered, and the remainder of the province submitted to the king after the victory of Formigny in 1450. Guienne was soon conquered by the victorious army, and, in 1453, of all its continental possessions England only preserved Calais.

In 1444 the Emperor Frederick III. requested the support of France against the republican cantons of Switzerland. The assistance of Charles VII. was equally solicited by René, Duke of Lorraine, against the free towns of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and some other



towns, which called themselves subjects of the empire. Charles VII. complied with these requests and sent two armies, one into Switzerland and the other into Lorraine. The Dauphin Louis commanded the first, which met and defeated that of the Swiss cantons at Saint Jacques, near Bâle. Struck with their bravery, the French prince made peace with them, and concluded an alliance with those whom he had vanquished. The events of the campaign in Lorraine were little decisive. The towns of Toul and Verdun recognized the king as their protector; Metz resisted, was besieged, and bought the maintenance of its liberty by a contribution of war. This rapid

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campaign gave a proof of the pretensions of Charles VII. upon a portion of Lorraine, but there was no other important result.

The wounds of France closed, and prosperity began to spring forth anew. By the king's care the whole administration was reformed. A special court, called the court of aides, was instituted for the hearing of all criminal causes connected with the taxes; this supreme jurisdiction had soon numerous tribunals. By the creation of the parlement of Toulouse, the king restricted the jurisdiction of that of Paris, which then extended itself throughout the provinces. After having organized the army, the treasury and justice, Charles occupied himself with the church of France. It was he who, in 1438, promulgated solemnly, before the French clergy assembled at Bourges, the pragmatic sanction, proclaiming the liberties of the Gallican church, such as the council then sitting at Bâle had defined. It recognized the superiority of the general councils over the Pope, restricted to a small number of cases the right to appeal to Rome, forbade the publication of Papal bulls in the kingdom before they had been registered in Parlement, deprived the Pontifical court of the revenue of vacant benefices, and entrusted the election of the bishops to the chapters of the churches. In these works, which were so important and so diverse, the Estates-General had only a feeble part. Their last meeting had taken place at Orleans in 1439, and for twenty-two years Charles did not convoke them, but was seconded in his work by skillful counselors, who, for the most part, had been drawn from the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

Charles had become the wisest and the most powerful monarch in Europe, but just causes of distrust and resentment with regard to the dauphin embittered his latter years. Louis had married as his second wife, contrary to the wish of his father, Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Savoy. The king ordered him to come and justify himself at his court; but the dauphin, fearing all the counselors of his father and not being able to obtain surety for his person, sought refuge in the court of Burgundy, where he was received by Philip the Good and by Charles, his son, with honor and munificence. The king took possession of Dauphiné, and united that province to the states which were held directly from the crown. The dauphin had implored the pardon of his father, but the king knew his false and perverse heart, and vainly requested that he would ask for forgiveness in person. Unfortunately, a formidable example had recently increased the distrust of his son. The Duke

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of Alençon, prince of the royal blood, accused by the king of treason and of complicity with England, had been condemned to death by the peers of France. Charles commuted the punishment and caused the prince to be shut up in a tower of the Louvre; the dauphin declined to expose himself to a similar chastisement. The king from that time believed himself to be beset by the emissaries of his son. At last, fearing that he would be poisoned by them, and suffering besides from an abscess in the mouth, he refused all nourishment and allowed himself to die of hunger. He expired on July 22, 1461, in his fifty-eighth year.

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Chapter VIII

TERRITORIAL UNITY AND WARS IN ITALY
1461-1547

LOUIS XI. was thirty-eight years old when he mounted the throne. "The new king was awkward and feeble in appearance. His face, with its brilliantly piercing eyes, was disfigured by a hooked nose, excessively long. His legs were slim and deformed, his gait uncertain. He dressed very simply and wore an old pilgrim's hat, ornamented solely with a sacred medal of lead. When he entered Abbeville in company with the fastidious Philip the Good, simple people who had never seen the king marveled at his appearance and exclaimed, 'Bless us! and is that the King of France, the greatest king of the world? His whole outfit is not worth twenty francs—horse, clothes, and all.'" This prince, who from being a fugitive became a king, was informed of the plots hatched against him in the court of his father, and also of the hatred which the most influential men in the kingdom bore him. He believed that he had need of the support of the people against his enemies, and promised at his accession to diminish the taxes. But his liberalities towards those whom he wished to gain exhausted the treasury and the taxes were augmented. One of the first acts of his reign was the abolition of the pragmatic sanction. Being passionately fond of the chase, he forbade that sport in the royal forests, much to the annoyance of the nobility. Economical himself, and strict in the administration of finances, he did not permit them to be pillaged by the princes of his family. His yoke bore equally upon all; his active vigilance surveyed at the same time each part of the kingdom, and he would not suffer any tyrant in the country but himself. The irritation became general, and the princes and nobles leagued themselves against Louis XI. He, in seeking to divide his two most formidable neighbors, Francis II., Duke of Brittany, and the Count of Charolais, son of the Duke of Burgundy, excited them against

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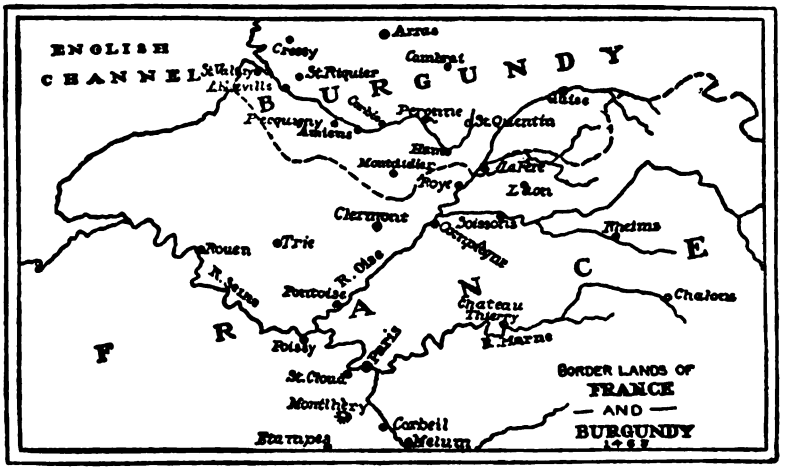
himself. He had perfidiously given to both of them the government of Normandy, in the hope of seeing them dispute; however, they united against him. The resentment of the Count of Charolais, afterwards known in history as Charles the Rash, was, however, more vehement, because Louis had been loaded with benefits by Philip the Good, his father. It was around him and the Duke of Brittany that the princes of the royal blood rallied, together with the great nobles who were discontented. They assumed the name of the League of the Public Good, and placed at their head the Duke of Berry, Charles of France, brother of the king, who claimed Nor-



mandy from him as an appanage. The bloody battle of Montlhéry (1465), where Louis left the field of battle to the Count of Charolais, was soon followed by the rising of Normandy in favor of the princes.

The king, seeing himself the weaker, laid down his arms and had recourse to negotiations. He signed, in 1465, the Treaty of Conflans, by which he gave Normandy to his brother, and satisfied the exorbitant pretensions of the princes. Louis ceded to them towns, vast domains, and governments, and piled up dignities upon the rebel nobles. But Louis only gave with one hand to take back with the other when the moment should arrive. He convoked the Estates-General at Tours in 1468, and by representing that those who had been in league against him only sought to enfeeble the state by dismembering it, he persuaded the Estates to annul the

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LOUIS XI OF FRANCE, IN PRISON AT PÉRONNE, VOWS THE ERECTION OF A NEW CHURCH TO THE MOTHER OF GOD IF SHE—FOR WHOM HE HAS DONE SO MUCH—WILL NOW REPAY THE DEBT BY HELPING HIM OUT OF HIS DIFFICULTIES

Painting by Hermann Kaulbach

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1468-1470

Treaty of Conflans, retaking Normandy from Charles of France. Louis, having obtained from them all that he wished, was anxious to dismiss them. They only remained in assembly for eight days; and it was remarked, as a symptom of the progress of the bourgeoisie, that the three orders had voted in common. This was the only convocation of the Estates-General under this reign.

Charles of France, irritated at losing Normandy, united again with the Duke of Brittany and with Charles the Rash, who had become Duke of Burgundy by the death of Philip the Good, his father. Louis foresaw their attack. He marched unexpectedly against the Duke of Brittany, who, separted from his allies, and seized with fear, submitted by the Treaty of Ancenis.

The king then sought to gain over his people. He gave charters to many of the towns, protected commerce by wise ordinances, and reorganized the national militia of Paris, to which he gave the right to elect its own officers. Louis endeavored afterwards to find allies in the states of his most powerful enemy. The manufacturing towns of Flanders were prompt to revolt against the cruel violences of the Duke of Burgundy, their sovereign. Louis sent an emissary into Liège, and excited it to revolt, promising his support. In the meantime, to prevent war he demanded from the duke a safe-conduct, and went to consult with him at Péronne. Scarcely had he arrived when the revolt of Liège broke out. Charles learned that the bishop, Louis of Bourbon, his relation and his ally, was massacred, and that Louis XI. was the author of the sedition. At this news his rage knew no bounds; he held the king prisoner, and threatened to kill him. Louis, in order to get out of his peril, signed the Treaty of Péronne, which limited his sovereignty in the states of Burgundy, and promised to give to his brother, Charles, Champagne and Brie as an appanage.

England was then desolated by the War of the Roses. Louis XI., having taken the side of the red rose, united against Edward IV., with his relative Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI. Edward, conquered, retired to Holland, and implored the assistance of Duke Charles, his brother-in-law. Louis, without anxiety on the part of England, followed up his advantages. He caused the Treaty of Péronne to be annulled by the inhabitants, under the pretext that Charles had only imposed it upon him by causing him to break his word. Louis, in disengaging himself from his obligations, created for himself new dangers. Edward IV., assisted by Charles the

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Rash, had regained his crown; Henry VI. and his son were assassinated; the Duke of Burgundy called into France the English monarch, and promised Mary, his daughter and heiress, to Charles of France, Duke of Guienne, who had recently received that province from Louis XI. as an appanage; and the Duke of Brittany renewed his intrigues. The king thus saw himself threatened with a new storm, when his brother fell ill, and died after some months of suffering, poisoned, it is believed, by Louis. The Duke of Burgundy soon caused his troops to march into Picardy, and spread terror before his steps. The king, however, negotiated separately with each of the rebellious princes, and by his maneuvers spread discord among the chiefs of the league. The Duke of Brittany signed a new truce, and the Duke of Alençon, at the instigation of the king, was tried, and condemned to death for the second time, by the Parlement of Paris.

Edward IV., King of England, drawn over by the Duke of Brittany, was then in France with a numerous army. Charles, his ally, seconded him badly, and Louis XI., always more prompt to negotiate than to fight, gained by his bribes the confidence of King Edward, and was prompt in signing with him a truce of seven years (1475). Charles, abandoned by the English, also signed with Louis a truce for nine years. Each of these two enemies sacrificed on that occasion those on whom his adversary wished to take vengeance; Charles delivered to the scaffold the Constable Saint Pol; Louis abandoned his ally, René, Duke of Lorraine, whose inheritance Charles the Rash coveted.

Sovereign of the Duchy of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Hainault, Flanders, Holland, and Gueldres, Charles wished, by joining to these Lorraine, a portion of Switzerland, and the inheritance of old King René, Count of Provence, to recompose the ancient kingdom of Lorraine, such as it had existed under the Carlovingian dynasty. Lorraine soon lay at his feet, and Nancy opened its gates to Charles the Rash. Irritated against the Swiss, who had braved him, Charles besieged the little town of Grandson and, in spite of a capitulation, caused all the defenders to be hanged or drowned. At this news the people of the Helvetian republic rose, and attacked the duke before Grandson (1476) and dispersed his troops. Some months later, supported by young René of Lorraine, they exterminated a second Burgundian army before Morat (1476). Charles, vanquished, assembled a third army, and marched in the midst of

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winter against Nancy, which had fallen into the hands of the Swiss and Lorrainers. It was there that he perished, in 1477, betrayed by his mercenary soldiers, and overpowered by numbers. At this news Louis immediately seized the duchy of Burgundy, and claimed the guardianship of the daughter of Charles, Mary of Burgundy. The more secure he felt himself to be, the more cruel he became. He caused the Duke of Nemours, whom he held as a prisoner, to be executed in the presence of his children, and these were afterwards thrown into dungeons, where they were subjected to horrible tortures.

The perfidy and ferocity of the king raised all the new states which he had seized against him. Maximilian of Austria, recently united to Mary of Burgundy, and who claimed her heritage, marched against him and fought the bloody and indecisive battle of Guinegate in 1479. This was followed by a long truce; and three years later, on the death of Mary, her daughter, then two years old, was promised to the dauphin. The Treaty of Arras (1482), concluded by Louis with the states of Flanders and the emperor, confirmed to him the possession of the Duchy of Burgundy, and the counties of Franche-Comté, Mâcon, Charolais, Auxerre, and Artois. Old René of Anjou, sovereign of Lorraine and Provence and titular King of Naples, had died a few years before. He had for a long period abdicated the ducal crown of Lorraine in favor of René, the son of his eldest daughter. He left by will the rest of his estates to his nephew Charles of Maine, who only survived his uncle a short time, and bequeathed his domains in France and his rights to the crown of Naples to Louis XI., who had already obtained from the King of Aragon, as a pledge for a loan of two hundred thousand crowns, Roussillon and Cerdagne.

The king was growing old, and trembled at the thought of dying. Shut up in his château of Plessis-les-Tours, his ordinary residence, a prey to fear of everyone who approached him, he gave himself up to the fanatical and superstitious practice of religious ceremonies, trusting in accordance with the vain belief of his age, that the externals of devotion were sufficient to efface the most enormous crimes. He died on August 30, 1483, leaving the scepter to his young son, Charles. France was indebted to Louis XI. for many wise institutions, nearly all created with the design of centralizing the action of power. To attain this end, he tried to establish in the kingdom uniformity of customs, and of

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weights and measures; he created posts, establishing on the great road couriers, solely destined to carry public news to the king, and to carry his orders; he replaced the corps of free archers by Swiss corps, and some privileged companies by a Scotch guard. He instituted three new parlements, at Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Dijon. The most remarkable edict of his reign is that which rendered a life tenure to judicial offices. That edict founded the independence and the power of the parlements, but was not inspired, however, by love of justice; for no one more often than Louis XI. had recourse, in his criminal trials, to commissions and to illegal and violent means.

The principal work of Louis XI. was the abasement of the second feudality, which had raised itself on the ruins of the first, and which, without him, would have replunged France into anarchy. The chiefs of that feudality were, however, more formidable, since, for the most part, they belonged to the blood royal of France. The time was still distant when the royal authority would be seen freely exercised through every territory comprised in the natural limits of the kingdom. But Louis XI. did much to attain this aim, and after him no princely or vassal house was powerful enough to resist the crown by its own force, and to put the throne in peril.

Charles VIII., son and successor of Louis XI., mounted the throne at the age of thirteen years. He had two sisters, of whom the elder was married to the Lord of Beaujeu, of the house of Bourbon. Charles had passed a part of his solitary youth in the château of Ambroise, where long illnesses had deformed his body. Kept by his father in profound ignorance of everything, he did not know how to fix his attention on anything. Incapable of application and of discernment, and feeling his weakness, he lived for a long time in guardianship, though he was fully of age, according to the French régime, when his father died, having attained his fourteenth year.

Anne of Beaujeu preserved the guardianship of his person, and took possession of the power conjointly with her husband. This authority was disputed by the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the Count of Claremont, all three princes of the blood royal and chiefs of the feudal reaction. The first was heir presumptive to the throne, and the second eldest brother of the Lord of Beaujeu. At last, in 1484, in order to put an end to their dangerous rivalries, the Estates-General were convoked at Tours.

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LOUIS XI, KING OF FRANCE
After a contemporary painting

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1484

It was the first time that all of France had been represented in the Estates. The assembly laid its hands on all abuses, described all the reforms, and invoked the ancient French constitution, which, however, was only written in the hearts of men, and existed only in name. The order of the clergy demanded the liberties of the Gallican church, contrary to the wish of the bishops; the nobility claimed anything that could restore its ancient military importance; the Third Estate solicited the abolition of "*prévôtal*" justice, the diminution of the costs of law, the moderation of the tolls, and the surety of the roads; then, presenting the picture of the miseries of the people, it entreated the king to reduce the expenses, and above all to abolish the land-tax.

The whole of France, in short, by the mouth of its deputies, demanded a return to the government of Charles VII. The Estates named the Duke of Orleans president of the council, gave the second place to the Duke of Bourbon, constable, and the third to the Lord of Beaujeu; they decided that the Estates alone had the right to tax the people, ordered reductions in the army, and voted a tax of twelve hundred thousand livres for two years, with a supplement of three hundred thousand for that year. Soon the discussions degenerated into quarrels concerning the redivision of the land-tax in the provinces. Profiting by these divisions and the lassitude of the deputies, the princes promised everything for the king, and hastened to dismiss the Estates. No promise was kept, and none of the wishes expressed were heard favorably.

The Duke of Orleans was soon removed by his sister-in-law, Anne, from the council. The wisdom and vigor with which this princess employed the royal authority caused the people to forget that she had usurped it. But in 1485 a league was formed against her, composed of the princes of the blood royal, the Prince of Orange, Philip de Commines, and the Count of Dunois, son of the famous bastard of that name. These confederates, less guilty in having struggled against the usurpation of the regency than in opening the kingdom to foreigners, called to their aid Maximilian of Austria, and Francis II., Duke of Brittany.

That province was a prey to anarchy. The old duke, Francis II., nearly imbecile, reigned only in name, the government being carried on by the son of a tailor, named Landais, whom he had made his treasurer and favorite. The nobles of Brittany were leagued together against him and against their duke. Anne of

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Beaujeu, always acting in the name of the king, made an alliance with them. She united herself in a similar manner with René of Lorraine and the Flemings, who had revolted at this period against Maximilian of Austria, their sovereign.

In 1485 the Breton nobles seized Landais in the very chamber of their sovereign, who delivered him up while asking for mercy. It was in vain: Landais was condemned to death and executed, without the knowledge of his master. Anne of Beaujeu profited skillfully by the success of her allies. She subdued the south, and took Guienne away from the Count of Comminge, who had embraced the side of the princes. The latter were in consternation. Dunois reanimated their courage, and drew over to or maintained on his side, Alain d'Albret, the lord of Béarn, Maximilian of Austria, recently elected king of the Romans, and the powerful Viscount of Rohan. However, Anne caused her brother to summon to the throne, in the Parlement of Paris, the leagued princes and the principal nobles of their party. They did not appear; and in the month of May following a sentence was issued by which Count Dunois, Lescun, Count of Comminge, Philip de Commines, the Lord of Argenton, and many other nobles, were condemned as being guilty of high treason against the king. No sentence was pronounced against the princes. Anne followed up her advantages. She entrusted her royal army to La Trémouille, who marched into Brittany and met the army of the princes near to Saint Aubin du Cormier (1488). Marshal de Rieux, the Lord d'Albret, and Chateaubriand commanded it; the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were in its ranks. They engaged in battle; it was gained by La Trémouille, and prepared the way for the union of Brittany with France. The Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, and a great number of nobles were taken prisoners. Many of the nobles were put to death. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were led back into France, where Anne held them prisoners. The Treaty of Sablé, concluded in the same year, suspended hostilities between France and Brittany.

The constable, the Duke of Bourbon, was dead; his brother, Lord of Beaujeu, had inherited his title and all his power. Anne, who had become Duchess of Bourbon, lived, after the battle of Saint Aubin du Cormier, in possession of an authority which ceased to be contested. This princess had had for a long time in

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view the union of Brittany with the crown. A few months after the signature of the Treaty of Sablé, old Francis II. died. Charles VIII. claimed the guardianship of his daughters, of whom Anne, the eldest, was scarcely thirteen years old. Anarchy ensued in Brittany: many princes and nobles aspired to the hand of the girl-duchess, when, in 1490, the young Anne of Brittany, in order to escape from her persecutors, consented to marry the King of the Romans, Maximilian of Austria. That prince was absent, and the marriage was only celebrated by proxy. Charles VIII. soon after surprised Rennes, where the duchess was, and carried her off. Then was accomplished a strange fact in the annals of history. Anne of Brittany and Charles VIII. were betrothed, the former to Maximilian, and the latter to Marguerite of Austria, eleven years old, daughter of the same Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy; but neither of the two marriages had been completed. Both contracts were annulled, and Charles VIII. married, in 1491, Anne of Brittany, who ceded to him all the rights of sovereignty, engaging herself, if she became a widow, to marry only the heir to the kingdom; the king, in his turn, promising solemnly to respect the privileges of the Bretons.

Charles, who was twenty-two years of age, was then the most powerful sovereign in Europe. Since the preceding year he had thrown off the prudent guardianship of his sister. The first act of his authority was to set at liberty the Duke of Orleans. He appeased Maximilian of Austria, whose wife he had carried off and whose daughter he had repudiated, by giving up to him, in 1495, by the Treaty of Senlis, the counties of Franche-Comté, Charolais, and Artois. The King of England, Henry VII., whom he had assisted in conquering his kingdom from Richard III., repaid him with ingratitude, and besieged Boulogne with an army. Charles obtained peace by recognizing in the Treaty of Etaples a debt of seven hundred and forty-five thousand gold crowns payable to that monarch. He lastly made up by the Treaty of Barcelona, to Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, vanquishers of the Moors, and conquerors of Grenada, the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, dearly purchased by Louis XI. In peace with the neighboring states and with his people, Charles VIII. then gave himself up to his passion for distant adventures and chivalrous conquests. He thought, it is said, of conquering Constantinople, but bounded his ambition at first with Italy and Sicily.

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For a long time Italy had excited the cupidity of the French. Louis XI., among others, sought to obtain rights over it: it was at his instigation that the old King of Naples, René of Anjou, designated as his heir Charles of Maine, his nephew, to the prejudice of René II., Duke of Lorraine, son of his eldest daughter. Charles of Maine, on taking the title of King of Naples, named Louis, in his turn, his sole heir. This will was the only title on which Charles VIII. rested his pretensions to the crown of Naples and Sicily, then possessed by a Prince of Aragon, Ferdinand I., son of Alphonse the Magnanimous.

A party in the kingdom of Naples, favorable to the House of Anjou, and called the Angevin party, had appealed uselessly to René of Lorraine to come into the kingdom; in place of him they addressed themselves to Charles VIII., and offered to him the crown. This prince had still another supporter in Italy. Louis the Moor, son of Francesco Sforza, was all-powerful at Milan, had held the regency of the duchy for his nephew, the young Duke John Galéas, who was incapable of reigning himself. Afflicted by the divisions in Italy, he thought of uniting it into one body: but his genius provoked the jealous hate of all the sovereigns of that country. Threatened by the Venetians, and distrusting the new Pope, Alexander VI., he believed he needed the support of the French, and called them into Lombardy. From that time Charles VIII. no longer hesitated. Ferdinand I. was dead; he left two sons—Alphonso II., who succeeded him, already celebrated in his wars against the Turks; and Frederic, to whom his brother entrusted the command of the Neapolitan fleet.

It was in the month of August, in the year 1494, that the French army began to pass over the Alps. Italy rose at their approach. The king halted at Milan and saw the Duke, John Galéas Visconti, who died soon after his departure, when Louis the Moor took the title of Duke of Milan. The French army continued its march across Lombardy, and arrived upon the territory of Florence, where the people rose against the head of the Florentine republic, Pierre de Medici, who sought a refuge in Venice. The Florentines hailed the French with acclamations as their liberators. Pierre's crime, in the eyes of the Florentines, consisted in having delivered up some strong castles and towns to the French; but as Charles VIII. promised to respect their liberties, and restore the fortresses given up by the Medici, at the end of the war, they

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1494-1495

lent him their support, and granted him a subsidy to help him in his enterprise. Ferdinand, son of Alphonso II., charged by his father to stop the French, was supported neither by the Pope nor by the Florentines. Too weak to struggle alone, he recoiled before the enemy, and Charles VIII. arrived almost at Rome without drawing sword. Alphonso abdicated in favor of his son Ferdinand, and retired to Mazarra, in Sicily, where he died during the same year. Ferdinand II., abandoned by the army and excluded from his capital, was compelled to withdraw, with his family, to the island of Ischia. Charles VIII. arrived before Naples, all of the privileges of which he confirmed, and made a triumphal entry into the city.

The French, intoxicated with glory, thought only of enriching themselves promptly. Charles refused his followers nothing they chose to ask, and by this and his want of gratitude to the Angevin barons, who had espoused his cause, he soon raised a strong party against him in Naples. The powers of Europe became alarmed at his rapid successes. In 1495, Spain, Maximilian, Venice, and the Pope leagued themselves secretly against him, and the soul of this league was his ancient ally, Louis the Moor, whom the French had refused to recognize as Duke of Milan, the Duke of Orleans claiming that title in virtue of the rights that he held from Valentina Visconti, his grandmother. Philip de Commines, ambassador from the King of Venice, hastened to give a warning to the king, and Charles ordered an immediate retreat, leaving his relation, Gilbert de Montpensier, viceroy of the kingdom, with a portion of the army. The Duke of Orleans, whom Charles had left at Asti, had attacked Louis the Moor, who, after having repulsed him, held him blockaded at Novara. All Lombardy arose. The Venetian army arrived and united itself with the Milanese, and Charles's retreat was cut off. The French army, very inferior in numbers, met them in Fornovo (1495). It was attacked in the pass of Taro and gained a signal victory. The king, by the Treaty of Vercelli, made peace with Louis the Moor, and recognized him as Duke of Milan, and that prince declared himself in return a vassal of the crown of France, for the fief of Genoa, which then belonged to France.

While Charles returned to his states, Ferdinand and Gonzalvo of Cordova attacked the French left in the kingdom of Naples. Gilbert de Montpensier was compelled to evacuate the capital, and engage to leave the kingdom. An epidemic cut down his troops; he

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himself died at Pozzuolo: barely five hundred soldiers survived him. Charles VIII., on receiving the news of these disasters, projected a second expedition, but on April 7, 1498, he died of an accident in his château of Amboise, at the age of twenty-eight years.

The Duke of Orleans was thirty-six years old when he ascended the throne under the name of Louis XII. He soon took the titles of King of France, of Jerusalem, and of the Two Sicilies, and Duke of Milan, in order that there might be no doubt in Europe as to his pretensions with regard to Italy. The first acts of Louis XII. were wise and useful. He diminished the taxes, reëstablished order in the finances and the administration, and confirmed an ordinance signed by the late king, for the creation of a sovereign court or great council. This court, composed of the chancellor, twenty councilors, ecclesiastical or lay, and the masters of the petitions of royal mansion, was destined, said the king, to sustain his rights and prerogatives. It strengthened and adjusted the royal authority, and Louis XII. deserved the gratitude of the people on account of the wise reforms which it brought into the legislation. Queen Anne had retired into Brittany soon after the death of Charles VIII., her husband, and performed an act of sovereignty by issuing moneys and publishing edicts. Her duchy was about to escape from France if she did not espouse the king, and Louis resolved to accomplish this marriage. He was married to Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI., and although there was no legal motive for such a step, he solicited and obtained a divorce from Pope Alexander VI. (1499), the duchy by the marriage contract being declared transmissible to the second child of the queen, or, in default of a second child, to her nearest heir.

Soon after this union Louis made his claims upon the Milanese profitable, although he could only invoke them in the quality of being grandson of Valentina Visconti. They were sustained by a powerful army, which with the support of the Venetians and the Pope subdued the Milanese in twenty days. Louis the Moor took refuge with his son-in-law, the Emperor Maximilian. The administration of the French at Milan was oppressive; a revolt soon broke out, and Louis returned with his forces. He was, however, besieged in Novara by the French under La Trémouille. The Swiss in his army capitulated and allowed him to be taken, and he was subjected to strict imprisonment in the castle of Lys-Saint-Georges in Berri till his death. Master of the Milanese, the king

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assisted the Pope and the corrupt Cesare Borgia in subduing the Romagna; then he turned his eyes toward Naples, the ephemeral conquest of Charles VIII., where Frederic, in 1496, had succeeded his nephew Ferdinand II. Louis XII. was not alone in coveting this beautiful country; Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Aragon, wished for his part. In spite of the ties of family which united him with Frederic, the King of Aragon acceded at Grenada, in 1500, to a secret treaty by which Naples and the Abruzzi were chosen by France and the southern provinces by Spain. Frederic, menaced by the French armies, solicited the support of Ferdinand, who hastened to send Spanish troops under Gonzalvo of Cordova into Naples, and then showed to the unfortunate Frederic, so shamefully deceived, the treaty of division. The French and Spaniards, however, soon disputed about the revenues of the kingdom, and when Gonzalvo believed that he was strong enough hostilities broke out. He gained two consecutive victories, the one at Séminara, the other at Cérignoles (1503), and the French preserved in the kingdom only the single town of Gaëta. Louis XII. assembled two new armies, of which one marched upon Spain; the other advanced towards Naples, when suddenly the death of Alexander VI. deprived the king of his most powerful ally. Julius II., his successor, soon created for him in that country new perils and insurmountable obstacles. The French army, checked by Gonzalvo on the banks of the Garigliano, was obliged to retreat. Gaëta opened its gates to the Spaniards; the French were everywhere repulsed; and the kingdom of Naples was lost a second time to France.

While France experienced such great reverses abroad, a greater danger threatened her at home. Queen Anne wished her daughter Claude to marry young Charles of Austria, afterwards the famous Charles V. This prince, son of Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Low Countries, inherited Spain through his mother, Joan the Foolish; and Louis XII., by the secret Treaty of Blois (1504), which was signed by the king when dangerously ill, ceded to him, as a dowry for Princess Claude, Brittany, part of the inheritance of the dukes of Burgundy united with France, and all his rights over the Milanese. In 1506 he received from the Estates-General, assembled at Tours, the surname of "Father of the People," and was entreated by them to marry his daughter Claude to his cousin Francis, Count of Angoulême, heir presump-

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tive to the crown. This request anticipated the secret desire of the king, who, reproaching himself with the sad Treaty of Blois, had already seized an opportunity to break it. He heard with favor the wish of the Estates, and the royal betrothals were immediately celebrated.

Louis XII., in spite of his reverses, had always fixed his eyes on Italy. Genoa then was in submission to the French, but, being oppressed by the government and nobles, the people revolted, drove out the French, and elected a doge. The revolt was promptly suppressed by the king, who entered, sword in hand, into the vanquished city, caused seventy-nine of the principal citizens, together with the doge, to be hanged, and burdened the rest with a tax of two hundred and forty thousand florins, a sum sufficient to ruin the republic.

Venice had served as a bulwark for France against Germany and had shown itself her faithful ally in the campaign of Italy; but Louis XII. excited without motive the Emperor Maximilian, the Pope, and the King of Aragon against the Venetians. The Cardinal of Amboise was the soul of this league, known as the "League of Cambrai," from the name of the town where the treaty of alliance was signed, in 1508, between those sovereigns and Louis XII. The French marched against Venice, and gained the victory of Agnadel. The king treated the vanquished with pitiless cruelty. But Pope Julius II., whose design it was to make the Pontifical state dominant in Italy, to free the peninsula from the foreign yoke, and to constitute the Swiss guardians of its liberties, and who had only entered with regret into the Treaty of Cambrai, connected himself with the Venetians after their reverses, and, detaching himself from the League of Cambrai he formed another, which he called "The Holy," with the Venetians, the Swiss, and Ferdinand the Catholic (1511). All together attacked the French; nevertheless the latter obtained some brilliant advantages under the young and impetuous Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, nephew of the king, who achieved three victories in three months. The battle of Ravenna, where this hero of twenty-three years, "a great captain before he had been a soldier," perished, dying at the moment of his triumph (1512), was the end of the successes of Louis XII. in Italy.

A council held, in 1511, at Pisa by some schismatic cardinals, partisans of the King of France and the emperor, had suspended

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1512-1515

the authority of the Pope. Julius II. responded to this boldness on the part of the king by signing the Holy League, and by convoking the council of St. John Lateran, where eighty-three bishops from all parts of Christendom recognized him as head of the church. New disasters for France marked out the course of that year. Genoa revolted, and Ferdinand the Catholic conquered Navarre, where the House of Albret, an ally of France, reigned. Julius II. died in 1513 and the Cardinal de Medici, as great an enemy of France, succeeded him, under the name of Leo X. Louis XII. at last became reconciled with Venice and united himself with that republic by the Treaty of Orthez, while Emperor Maximilian, Henry VIII., King of England, Ferdinand the Catholic and the Pope formed the coalition called the League of Malines against him (1513). La Trémouille conducted into Lombardy a French army, which was defeated by the Swiss at Novara. It recrossed the Alps, abandoning the Venetians to themselves, and Italy was lost forever. The English army then gained in Artois, in 1513, the battle of Guinegate, known in history under the name of the Battle of the Spurs, on account of the complete rout of the French royal troops. Pressed at the same time by the Swiss, who were besieging Dijon, by the Spaniards and by the English, deprived of his ally by the death of James IV., King of Scotland, killed at the battle of Flodden, and lastly, tormented by his conscience, Louis XII. renounced the schism, abandoned the Council of Pisa, removed to Lyons and signed in 1514 a truce at Orleans with the Pope and all his powerful enemies.

The cost and the misfortunes of so many wars had compelled the king to increase the taxes, to reclaim his gratuitous gifts and alienate his domain. Queen Anne was no more, and in order to insure peace between England and France Louis asked and obtained in marriage the hand of Mary, sister to Henry VIII., engaging himself to pay during eight years a hundred thousand crowns per annum to the English monarch. This marriage between a young princess of sixteen years and a man of fifty-three, exhausted and sickly, was fatal to Louis XII. She was fond of a gay life, and to please her the king disobeyed his physicians, stayed out late at dances, gave tournaments and shows, and broke through all the regularity of his life. He died, without leaving a son, on January 1, 1515, a few months after the celebration of his marriage.

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Under Francis I. all was silence around the throne. The Estates-General were no more convoked; the parlements proclaimed the doctrine of absolute power; the submissive clergy invoked the protection of the scepter, and the expiring genius of the old armed feudality was reduced to powerlessness by the irrevocable union of Brittany with the crown. Thenceforth, from the ocean to the Alps, from the Somme to the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees, was to be under the hand of one sole master.

This prince, twenty years of age at his accession, was the son of Louisa of Savoy and Charles of Angoulême, cousin-german to Louis XII., both descendants of the Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. As king, he considered himself absolute master of his own actions and of the nation. He maintained that every order that emanated from his mouth was a decree of destiny, and could not conceive that the Parlement, princes, nobility, or Estates-General could have the right to restrain his authority.

Scarcely had Francis I. seized the scepter than, following the example of Louis XII., he turned his eyes towards Italy. Desirous of conquering Milan, where a Sforza still reigned, he raised a formidable army, and having named his mother Regent of France, he crossed the Alps. On descending into the plains, Chabannes and the famous Bayard, the "knight without fear and without reproach," as a first exploit surprised at table and carried off Prosper Colonna, general of Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan. This important capture was followed by the battle of Marignano (1515), under the walls of Milan, in which Francis I., who fought like a hero, completely defeated the Swiss allies of the Milanese. This bloody battle cost the lives of some three thousand French and thirteen or fourteen thousand Swiss. The remains of the conquered army abandoned Italy. Francis I. asked, on the day after the battle, to receive the order of chivalry from the hand of Bayard, who was the most distinguished among his most valiant captains at Marignano. The rapid conquest of the duchy of Milan was the result of this decisive victory. In order to insure its possession, the king concluded an alliance with the Swiss, and signed a concordat with Pope Leo X., engaging himself to maintain at Florence the authority of Lorenzo and Julian de' Medici, near relatives of the Pontiff, and to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction, which founded the liberties of the Gallican church upon the decrees of the council of Bâle.

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The young rival of Francis I., he who was about, for so many years, to dispute with him the first rank in Christendom, now commenced to show himself upon the scene of the world. Ferdinand the Catholic died in 1516, leaving the throne to his daughter, Joan the Simple. Charles of Austria, sixteen years old, son of Joan the Simple, was associated on the throne with his mother by the Cortes of the kingdom. This young prince, known in after-time under the name of Charles V., was, through his father, Philip the Handsome, inheritor of the Low Countries, and in 1516 the Emperor Maximilian, his grandfather, left him his hereditary states. Before he was twenty Charles found himself master of Spain, of the Low Countries, of Austria, of the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish possessions in America; he was already the most powerful monarch in Europe. The relations between Francis and Charles commenced by a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, signed at Noyon in 1516, at the moment when Charles inherited the crown of Spain. This prince promised Francis I. to marry his daughter, then in the cradle; the marriage was to be accomplished when she was twelve years old, and Francis had to give her as a dowry all his rights over the kingdom of Naples.

The death of the Emperor Maximilian caused the breaking out between the two monarchs of the first symptoms of the struggle that was only to finish with their lives. Both of them had pretensions to the empire; but Germany, threatened by the Turks, had need of an emperor whose states would serve as a barrier to the Mussulman invasion and the Elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, having refused the imperial crown, caused it to be given to the young Austrian prince, so celebrated from that time under the name of Charles V. Francis I., wounded to the heart in his ambition, forgot the Treaty of Noyon, redemanded Naples, taken by Ferdinand the Catholic from Louis XII., while Charles V. claimed Milan as an imperial masculine fief, and the duchy of Burgundy as the inheritance of his grandmother Mary, daughter of Charles the Rash. The two rivals both sought the support of Henry VIII., King of England. The interview between Francis I. and the English monarch took place at Guines, near Calais. The excessive magnificence which was displayed on both sides caused the name of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold" to be given to the place of conference. After three weeks of rejoicing and splendid fêtes, the two kings signed a treaty of alliance, which became illusory; for

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Charles V., having himself first visited Henry VIII., had seduced by his largesses, and by the hope of the Papacy, Cardinal Wolsey, minister and favorite of that prince.

Nevertheless, in spite of so many motives of discord and jealousy, neither of the two rivals was anxious to commence the war. Germany, indignant at the shameful traffic in indulgences, had commenced to agitate, through the voice of Luther, who had burned in public at Wittenberg, in 1520, the bull of excommunication issued against him by the Pope. An act so audacious filled Europe with astonishment, and in 1521 Charles V. convoked a diet at Worms, in order, as he said, to repress the new opinions, which were dangerous to the peace of Germany. Luther appeared at this diet, under the protection of the Elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, and defended his doctrines. The diet permitted him to retire, but soon afterwards outlawed him. He was seized on his return by the soldiers of the Elector of Saxony and conducted to the fortress of Wartburg, where he lived shut up for nine months, concealed from his friends and protected against his enemies. It was there that he commenced his translation of the Bible.

While these great interests divided Europe, Leo X. excited the French to the conquest of Naples, promising them his support; then he treated almost immediately with Charles V. At last hostilities commenced. The imperial troops took Mouzon in Champagne, in 1521, and besieged Mezières, which was saved by Anne de Montmorency and the Chevalier Bayard. Lautrec, lieutenant-general of the king, badly supported by the mercenary Swiss, was beaten at Bicoque, in Lombardy, in 1522, and Milan was again lost. At the same time Henry VIII. united with the emperor against Francis I., and both declared war against him, while Adrian VI., former preceptor of Charles V., ascended the Pontifical throne.

Exhausted by the prodigalities of the king, the treasury was empty and money was necessary. It was not possible to gather sufficient by raising the land taxes and borrowing money, so, by the advice of the minister Duprat, the offices of the magistracy, the number of which was doubled, were sold for money. In vain the parliaments protested, the new magistrates were maintained; and this deplorable custom of venality, for the first time avowed and recognized, lasted until the French Revolution. About this time

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the king's mother, Louisa of Savoy, then forty-seven years old, proposed to the Constable Duke of Bourbon, the richest and most powerful noble of the kingdom, to marry her. Bourbon rejected these offers, adding irony to the refusal. The princess, furious, brought an unjust action against the duke. The Parlement did not dare to declare its opinion, but Francis, urged on by his mother, seized and united to the crown the immense possessions of the constable. Bourbon immediately treated secretly with Henry VIII. and Charles V. and invited them both to divide the kingdom. Informed of these negotiations, the king tried to seize his person. Bourbon escaped into Germany, but reappeared soon afterwards at the head of the armies of the emperor. The war then commenced with advantages to France on all the frontiers. The Germans attacked Champagne and Franche-Comté without success; the Spaniards were repulsed in the south, while La Trémouille successfully defended Picardy against an English army in Italy, where Francis I. still dreamed of conquest; the French army, under the command of Admiral Bonnivet, was compelled to retreat, and in a skirmish with the enemy in 1524 the Chevalier Bayard lost his life.

Bourbon and the Marquis of Pescaire invaded Provence and a number of towns submitted. Marseilles heroically sustained a siege, which was raised by the imperial troops, after forty days' continuance, at the approach of Francis I., who marched into Italy at the head of a third army and rapidly recovered the whole of the Milanese territory and besieged Pavia. Before this town the French and imperial troops engaged in battle on February 25, 1525. The French were totally defeated. The imperial army entirely surrounded the king. In vain Francis I. and his knights performed heroic exploits; the king was twice wounded and taken prisoner, with Henry d'Albret, the young King of Navarre. The latter was imprisoned in the citadel of Padua, whence he contrived to escape. Francis was concealed from observation in that of Pizzighettone and from there transferred to Madrid by order of Charles V.

Although Francis I., before his departure, had conferred the regency of the kingdom upon his mother, the sovereignty remained entirely in his person. He alone could accept or reject the conditions imposed on his deliverance, and the emperor, who saw in the captivity of Francis I. the humiliation and ruin of France, resolved to profit to the utmost by his victory. The king fell ill in

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prison. Charles, who had, until then, refused to see him, visited him and consoled him by affectionate words, but soon after his recovery he set him at liberty upon sad and dishonorable conditions for France. By the Treaty of Madrid (1526), which Francis signed with a secret determination not to observe it, he ceded all his rights upon Italy, renounced the sovereignty of the counties of Flanders and Artois, and abandoned to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy; he engaged to marry Eleanor, dowager Queen of Portugal, sister of the emperor; he pardoned the Duke of Bourbon and concluded an offensive and defensive league with the emperor, promising to accompany him in person when he went upon a crusade against the Turks or against heretics. Charles V. on his side gave up the towns on the Somme which had belonged to Charles the Bold.

After the signature of this treaty the king was released. He believed that in escaping from his enemies he was equally free from the obligations which he had contracted with them, and replied to the messengers of the emperor that he could not ratify the Treaty of Madrid without the consent of the Estates of the kingdom and of the duchy of Burgundy. He contented himself, however, with calling the princes, nobles and bishops, who then formed part of his court. This assembly disengaged him from his word. The states of Burgundy, on their side, declared that they did not wish to separate from France.

Italy, however, had only escaped from the French to fall into the hands of the imperial troops. Francis then, impatient for vengeance, presented himself to the people of Italy, no longer as master but as an ally; he offered the sword of France in order to free them. Venice, Florence, Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the Pope appealed to him as a liberator, and the King of England himself, afraid of the colossal power of Charles V., entered into the Holy League (1526). In the name of the independence of Italy the Duke of Urbino raised an Italian army, but before the French troops had crossed the Alps the soldiers of the emperor, under the Constable de Bourbon, threw themselves upon Rome, the center of the Holy League. The assault was made on May 6, 1527. Bourbon perished while placing a ladder at the foot of the ramparts, but Rome was taken, and the imperial troops avenged their general by sacking the Eternal City and by a frightful massacre. The Pope had to sustain a long siege in the castle of Saint Angelo.

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Henry VIII. and Francis I. resolved to set free the Pontiff and Italy, and declared war against the emperor, who heaped reproaches on Francis I., and received a challenge in answer. Lautrec entered Lombardy in 1528, at the head of a French army, and penetrated into the kingdom of Naples, where his troops were destroyed by an epidemic, while he himself was attacked and died. Another French army, commanded by Saint-Pol, was defeated and dispersed at Landriano; Saint-Pol was taken prisoner. France also lost about the same time the assistance of the celebrated Genoese Admiral, Andrea Doria. For this able sailor, being treated with disdain by Francis I., quitted his service for that of Charles V., and replaced Genoa, his country, under the protection of the emperor.

Europe at this period was in fear of a new Mussulman invasion. Rhodes, in 1523, after a six months' siege, had surrendered to the Turks, and Charles V., pressed by them and threatened by the reformers, modified his pretensions with regard to France. New negotiations were opened at Cambrai, by Louisa of Savoy, in the name of her son, and Marguerite of Austria, ruler of the Low Countries, in the name of the emperor, her nephew. A treaty was concluded, in which the king abandoned the sovereignty of Artois and Flanders, renounced all rights upon Italy and abandoned all his allies to the resentment of the emperor. The duchy of Burgundy still remained to the kingdom. This peace, which threw discredit on France throughout Europe, was signed in 1529, and was called the Ladies' Peace. By it all Italy fell again, almost without resistance, under the yoke of Charles V.

The fatal Ladies' Peace was a new misfortune that France owed to Louisa of Savoy and her confidant the Chancellor Duprat. The shameful administration of this man can only boast of one measure of positive utility.

Francis I. until 1532 had governed Brittany only in the quality of duke of that province; Duprat counseled him to unite this duchy in an indissoluble manner with the crown, and he prevailed upon the states of Brittany themselves to request this reunion, which alone was capable of preventing the breaking out of civil wars at the death of the king. It was irrevocably voted by the states assembled at Vannes in 1532.

The situation of Europe was then almost everywhere threatening or agitated. The greater part of the princes and the states of Germany had admitted the new religious opinions. Already

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Frederic I. had accorded freedom of conscience to Denmark, while Gustavus Vasa adhered, with the church of Sweden, to the confession of faith drawn up at the diet of Augsburg by Melancthon. The German princes, who were partisans of the reformation, united in 1531 against the emperor, in the celebrated League of Smalkalde. Lastly, Henry VIII., in consequence of the refusal of the Pope to sanction his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and his marriage with Anne Boleyn, caused himself to be proclaimed the head of the Anglican church. The populace of a great number of countries became agitated. Many took up arms. The peasants of Suabia and Thuringia rose in insurrection; the latter, under the name of Anabaptists, followed the fanatical John of Leyden. They tried to join with the insurgents of Franconia, Alsace, Lorraine and the Tyrol, and did great injury to the cause of the disciples of Luther, who united with the Catholics in order to fight and exterminate them.

Such was the religious state of Europe when Francis I. commenced his persecution of the Lutherans, or Protestants. His eyes were always turned upon Italy, the conquest of which the Pope could facilitate for him, and this motive, doubtless, led him to unite his cause with that of Rome by causing his second son, Henry II., to marry Catherine de' Medici, niece of Pope Clement VII. He did not, however, obtain the advantages that he had hoped for from this union. The Pontiff only survived the marriage a short time, and had as successor Alexander Farnese, who became Pope under the name of Paul III. Francis I., nevertheless, proved himself in France a cruel persecutor of the Protestants. He caused thirty-five persons to be burnt alive in Paris, January 25, 1535, and immediately after he issued an edict which proscribed the reformers, confiscated their goods to the profit of their denunciators, and forbade them to print any book on pain of death. In the same year, however, recognizing the necessity for relaxing these persecutions, he issued a declaration of amnesty, attributed in part to the influence of Antoine du Bourg, successor to Duprat in charge of the chancellorship.

The Mussulman invasion had made rapid progress. An innumerable Turkish army, conducted across Hungary under the wall of Vienna, had been repulsed in 1529. Barbarossa, a famous corsair, had taken possession of Tunis, and covered the sea with his vessels, pillaging the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, and

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CATHERINE DE' MEDICI
After a contemporary painting

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carrying off into slavery a multitude of Christians every year. Charles V. armed a formidable fleet against him, commanded, under his orders, by Andrea Doria; he conquered Barbarossa, took Tunis and set free twenty thousand Christians. In the meanwhile, Sforza, Duke of Milan, died without issue. Francis claimed the inheritance for his second son, the Duke of Orleans. Already, France, without plausible motive, had declared war against Charles III., Duke of Savoy, brother-in-law of Charles V. Turin and all Piedmont were rapidly invaded in 1536, and the French and imperial troops found themselves in each other's presence upon the frontiers of Milan. Hostilities broke out; the French army fell back, and the emperor invaded Provence in the same year. He found it a desert, as it had been laid waste previously by the French themselves. The imperial army, exhausted by famine and disease, retraced its steps without having fought. The war subsequently raged for some time in the Low Countries and Piedmont. At last, Pope Paul III. arranged that a truce of ten years should be signed between the rival monarchs (Nice, 1538), who divided the estates of the unfortunate Duke of Savoy, and met, with apparent esteem and friendship, at Aigues-Mortes.

A revolt of Ghent soon called Charles V. into Flanders; he was then in Spain, and his shortest route was through France. He requested permission to cross the kingdom, and obtained it after having promised the Constable Montmorency that he would give the investiture of Milan to the second son of the king. This promise, however, Charles did not keep, and the king, indignant, exiled the constable for having trusted the word of the emperor without exacting his signature and avenged himself by making an alliance with the Turks, the most formidable enemies of the empire. The hatred of the two monarchs was carried to its height by these last events; they mutually outraged each other by injurious libels, and submitted their differences to the Pope. Paul III. refused to decide between them, and they again took up arms. The king invaded Luxembourg and the dauphin Rousillon, and the third army Nice by land, while the terrible Barbarossa attacked it by sea. The town was taken, the castle alone resisted, and the siege of it was raised. The diet brought against Francis I. an army of twenty-four thousand men, at the head of which Charles V. penetrated into Champagne, while Henry VIII., coalescing with the emperor, attacked Picardy with ten thousand English. The battle of Ceri-

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soles, a complete victory, gained during the year 1544, in Piedmont, by Francis of Bourbon, Duke of Enghien, against the imperial troops, did not stop this double and formidable invasion. Charles V. advanced almost to Château-Thierry. But discord reigned in his army; he ran short of provisions, and could easily have been surrounded. He then again promised Milan to the Duke of Orleans, the second son of the king. The war was terminated almost immediately afterwards by the Treaty of Crespy near Laon. The emperor promised his daughter to the Duke of Orleans, with the Low Countries and Franche-Comté, or one of his nieces with Milan, and gave up Burgundy. Francis restored part of Piedmont to the Duke of Savoy, and renounced all pretensions to Naples, Milan, Flanders and Artois. The death of the Duke of Orleans freed the emperor from dispossessing himself of Milan or the Low Countries; he refused all compensation to the king, but the peace was not broken.

Francis I. profited by the peace to redouble his severity with regard to the Protestants. In 1546 he sanctioned the massacre of many thousands of Waldenses, who dwelt upon the confines of Provence and the county Venaissin, and had entered into communion with the Calvinists. Twenty-two towns or villages were burned and sacked; the inhabitants, surprised during the night, were pursued among the rocks by the glare of the flames which devoured their houses. The men perished by executions, but the women were delivered over to terrible violence. This dreadful massacre was one of the principal causes of the religious wars which desolated France for so long a time.

Charles V. then crushed the Lutherans in Germany, and maintained the Catholic faith in Spain by the inquisition, while Henry VIII. struck equally at both Catholic and Lutheran sects. The war continued between him and Francis I. The English had taken Boulogne, and a French fleet ravaged the coasts of England, after taking possession of the Isle of Wight. Hostilities were terminated by the Treaty of Guines, 1547, which the two kings signed on the brink of their graves, and it was arranged that Boulogne should be restored for the sum of two millions of gold crowns. Henry VIII. and Francis I. died in the same year shortly after the conclusion of this treaty; the latter had reigned for thirty years.

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Chapter IX

THE REFORMATION AND THE HUGUENOT WARS
1547-1589

HENRY II., son of Francis I., was twenty-nine years of age when he ascended the throne. He changed the counselors of the crown, and took into his favor the Constable Montmorency, who ruled him during all his reign. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, sons of Duke René of Lorraine, Montmorency, Diana of Poictiers, styled the mistress of the king, and lastly, the queen, Catherine de' Medici, endowed with a supple and profoundly dissimulating mind, were at the head of each of the four factions which divided the court. One of the first edicts of the new king condemned heretics to be burned alive. Another assigned to the provosts of the marshals the trial of assassins, smugglers, poachers, and people who were not known. This edict, which delivered over the lives of the citizens to arbitrary judgment, was ineffectually resisted by the magistracy. A serious revolt broke out in 1554, in the provinces beyond the Loire, where the tax upon salt had been recently established by Francis I. Poitou and Guienne rose; at Bordeaux, above all, the populace committed great excesses. The king sent Montmorency to the disaffected city with promises of justice and satisfaction, but he exercised a horrible vengeance on the inhabitants. Hundreds were executed, and many of the sufferers were broken on the wheel alive. A fine of two hundred thousand livres was levied on the citizens, and the city was deprived of its privileges and only recovered them in the following year.

France had hardly taken breath for a year, when war broke out anew. Henry II. supported Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, against Pope Julius III. and the emperor. The latter had gained, in 1547, the famous battle of Mühlberg over the confederates of Smalkalde. The venerable Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse had fallen into his power. Charles V. compelled the former to cede his electorate, which he gave to Maurice

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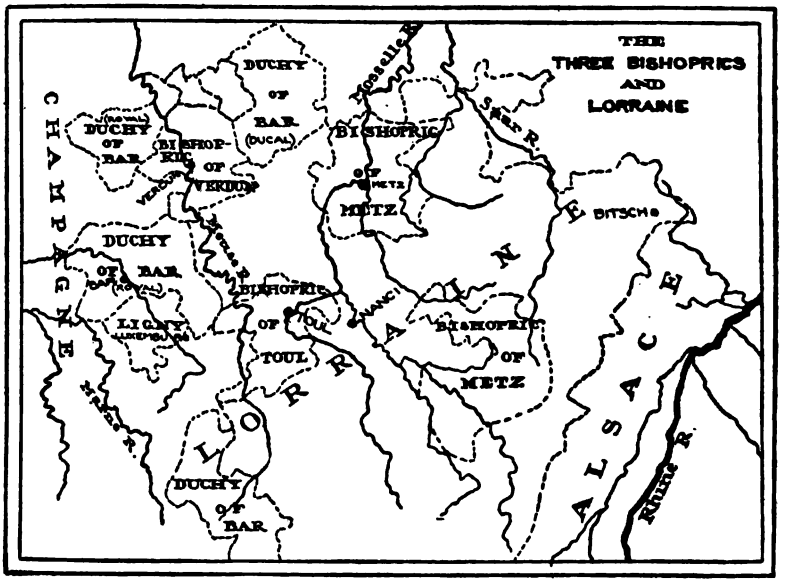
of Saxony, son-in-law of the landgrave. The Protestant league then implored the support of Henry II., who granted it on condition that he should occupy the town of Cambray and the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to guard them as vicar of the empire. He soon seized them, and although he declared himself the defender of independence in Germany, he aggravated the punishments of the Protestants in France and established there an inquisitor of the faith. An unexpected success rendered the support of Henry II. unnecessary to the Lutherans of Germany. Young Maurice of Saxony suddenly marched by forced journeys upon Innsbruck, where the emperor, ill and almost alone, was nearly taken by sur-



prise. Compelled to yield, Charles signed with the Protestants, in 1552, the Convention of Passau, changed three years later, at the diet of Augsburg, into a definite peace. The era of religious liberty in Germany dates from that time.

France had no part in these great events, but she preserved the price of her alliance in keeping the three bishoprics, in spite of the efforts of the emperor to take them. Hostilities were still prolonged between that prince and Henry II. for three years. The principal events of the war were:—The immortal defense of Metz by the Duke of Guise, in 1552, against Charles V.; the invasion of

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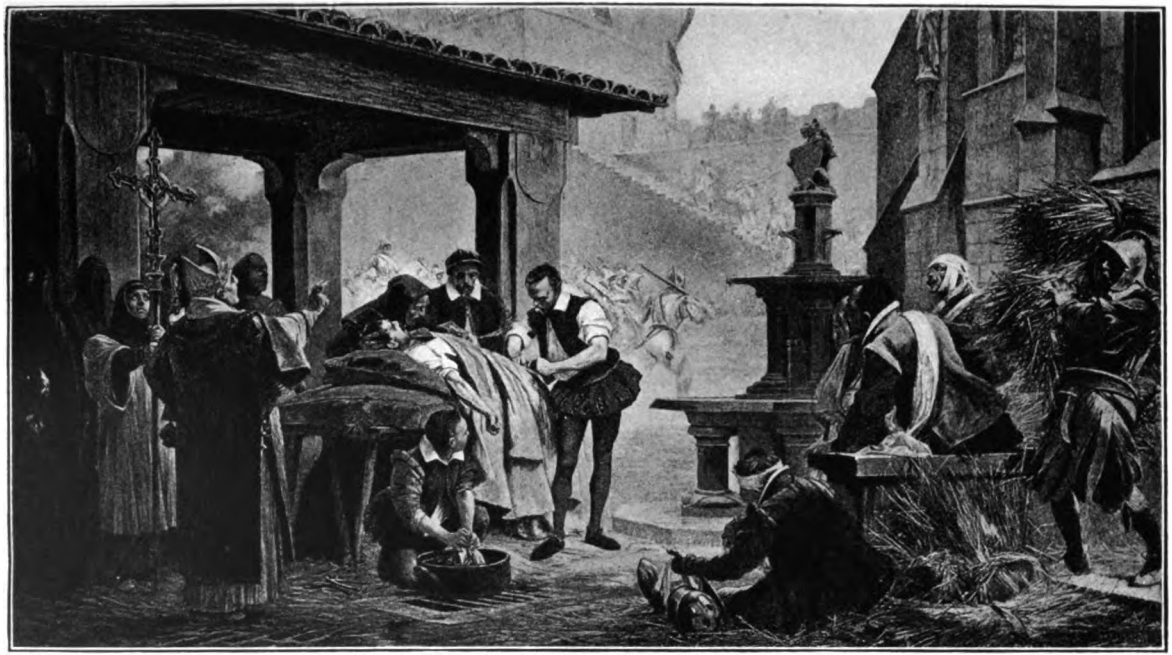

AMBROISE PARÉ PERFORMS THE FIRST LIGATURE OPERATION UPON AN ARTERY TO SAVE HUMAN LIFE, DURING THE SIEGE OF METZ

Painting by T. Chartran

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Picardy by the imperial army, and of Hainault by the French army; the conquest of Hesdin by Henry II.; the loss of Thérouenne, which Charles V. razed to the ground; the battle of Renti, in Flanders, where Guise, Coligni and Tavannes distinguished themselves; lastly, the defense of Sienna by Montluc; the ravaging of the coasts of Italy by Dragut, an Ottoman admiral allied with the French, and the fine campaign made in Piedmont against the Duke of Alva by Marshal Brissac. After these wars, the advantages of which were equally balanced, and in the course of the great troubles in Germany, caused by the death of Maurice of Saxony, and the rivalry between Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans and hereditary sovereign of Bohemia, there was opened at Augsburg a celebrated diet, in which it was decreed that the Catholic and Lutheran states should exercise their worship in freedom; and that it should be left to the civil power of each state to regulate its doctrine and religion. Such was, in great part, the decree of the Diet of Augsburg of September 25, 1555, and upon it for a long time, the religious peace of Germany reposed. This decree struck a fatal blow at the policy of Charles V., whose object was always to maintain the unity of the church under his sole dependence. Convinced that all would perish when he could not direct everything himself, he convoked the notables of the Low Countries at Brussels, and there on October 25, 1555, he solemnly abdicated his hereditary crown, and placed it in the hands of Philip II., his son. He still held the imperial crown for six months; then he retired to the convent of the Hieronymites of San Yuste, where he died, September 21, 1558. His brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, was his successor in the empire.

As soon as Philip had ascended the throne, Henry II. signed a treaty with him at Vaucelles, in 1555, of which the principal clause was a truce of five years. In virtue of this treaty, Paul IV., who declared that Charles V. was privy to a plot against his life, urged Henry to make war against the empire, promising to him, by a treaty signed at Rome, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples.

Two parties then divided the court of France: the young nobility wished for war; Montmerency was inclined for peace, and wisely advised the king to maintain it. Hostilities, however, broke out suddenly between the Pope and the Spaniards, in 1557, and war was resolved upon. A French army, under the orders of the con-

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stable and his nephew, Coligny, entered into Artois, and another into Italy, under the Duke of Guise. The first was completely vanquished through the fault of the Constable Montmorency. The road to Paris was open, but the indecision of the conquerors saved France from great disasters. Guise was recalled from Italy, and signalized his return by a memorable exploit. Mary of England, who had married Philip II. of Spain, had sent troops into Artois to act in concert with those of her husband. To punish her interference, the duke surprised Calais and retook it for France after it had remained for two hundred and ten years in the power of the English. France lost in the same year the battle of Gravelines. These two events were followed by the Peace of Château-Cambrésis, signed in 1559. It was called "The Unfortunate Peace." Henry II. gave up his conquests with the exception of the three bishoprics; he renounced all his rights upon Genoa, Corsica, the kingdom of Naples, and only retained in Piedmont, Pignerol and some fortresses.

Henry, in order to provide for the expenses of the war and those of a prodigal and dissolute court, had recourse to deplorable expedients. He sold by auction new judgeships and offices of all kinds and compelled most public officers to purchase their title to office anew. He established by the same means a parlement in Brittany, and caused an edict of inquisition to be bought by the clergy; lastly, he gave the name of assembly of notables to a body of clergy and nobles, chosen by himself and devoted to his will, and he disguised under the name of loans the taxes that he exacted from them.

The Edict of Inquisition which he sold to the clergy was not executed, as the Parlement of Paris resisted it. This resistance was not offered through pity for the sectarians, but because the Parlement was jealous of its rights and did not wish that another tribunal should have the privilege of prosecuting heresy and punishing it. Henry did not support his edict and the inquisition did not take root in France.

The foreign war had, towards the end of this reign, wrought some relaxation in the Catholic persecutions. The Protestants grew bold, and many princes of the blood royal, and with them illustrious warriors and magistrates, embraced the new belief. The court and clergy feared that the opposition shown by the Parlement to the Edict of Inquisition would cause the Protestants to escape

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1559

punishment, and the powerful Cardinal of Lorraine persuaded the king that it was his duty to censure the Parlement in person and order the execution of several counselors who were known to be Protestants or to favor the reformed faith; while one of his ministers, De Vieilleville, afterwards marshal of France, recommended him to leave the Parlement to itself and the punishment of heresy to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the priests. The cardinal's party, however, ultimately prevailed with the king, who went to the chamber where the Parlement was assembled and ordered the arrest of Anne of Bourg, Louis of Faur, and five or six others who chose to sustain in his presence the right of freedom of opinion with regard to religion. These brave and devoted men Henry placed in the hands of Montgomery, the captain of his guard, and made him give instructions for their trial.

The French Calvinists held in 1559 their first synod, and regulated the constitutions which should maintain in union their scattered societies, and rule them under the same discipline. The king received the news in the midst of the fêtes of the marriage of Elizabeth, his daughter, with Philip II., widower of Queen Mary Tudor of England. He swore that he would punish those whom he considered as rebels. His death prevented the accomplishment of his vow. Wounded in the eye, at a joust, by the lance of Montgomery, he died of the wound after a reign of twelve years. He left four sons, of whom three wore the crown. Francis, the eldest, had married Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, celebrated as much for her misfortunes as for her beauty (1559).

Francis II. ascended the throne at the age of sixteen years. Under this young prince, in spite of his legal majority, the power was divided between Francis, Duke of Guise, his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici. The characteristic trait of this queen, who played so great a part under the reigns of her three sons, was a profound dissimulation, united with an intriguing and corrupt spirit. The party opposed to Catherine and the princes of Lorraine was that of Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, and of Louis of Condé, his brother, both princes of the blood royal, issue of Robert, Count of Clermont, youngest son of Saint Louis. It was to them that the old Constable of Montmorency, without credit at the court and disgraced by the queen-mother, came and rallied against the Guises. Secret conferences were held at Vendôme between all the malcontents, the object of

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which was to convoke the Estates-General and take away the power from the Guises. The latter, informed concerning these hostile projects, and knowing the weakness of Anthony of Bourbon, prevented further opposition on his part by showing him a letter from Philip II. of Spain, in which he promised to sustain in France, at any cost, the authority of the king and his ministers.

The Guises triumphed. They then hastened to work out the destruction of Protestantism in France, and caused the trial of the counselor, Anne of Bourg, to be proceeded with. This brave man persisted in his faith, which he was ready to confirm with his blood. From that time his fate was sealed. Still, he could not perish without being avenged; it was unfortunately by an assassin. Minard, his enemy, and the president of the council before which he was tried, was killed by a pistol-shot. This was the sinister signal for a bloody persecution. Sentence of death was pronounced against Bourg, and he was executed on December 23, 1559. They spared him the pain of the fire, having the grace to strangle him before throwing him into the flames. The death of Bourg seemed to give a new activity to the persecution. The Cardinal of Lorraine designed, as he had already done for Francis I., a particular chamber, charged with punishing the reformers. Fire was the chastisement which it pronounced against them, and the cruelty of its judgments gave to it the frightful nickname of "The Burning Chamber."

The Peace of Château-Cambrésis had left without employment a crowd of gentlemen and soldiers whose only resource was war. A great number came to the court to petition, some for that which was due to them, others for pensions and pardons. The Cardinal of Lorraine threatened to hang all the petitioners who persisted in their importunities, and these men united with the nobles who were enemies to the tyranny of the Guises, and formed with them the party of "Malcontents," which doubled its forces by allying itself with the Protestants. The latter counted with pride in their ranks the Prince of Condé, a man of heart and head, brother of the King of Navarre, and the three brothers Chatillon, of whom the eldest, Admiral Coligny, was the most illustrious among the Protestant chiefs of France: Dandelot, one of his brothers, commanded the French infantry; while his other brother, Odet Chatillon, a skillful diplomatist, had secretly embraced the reformed faith, and was married, although he was Bishop of Beauvais and cardinal. These

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1560

men became eminent among the chiefs of the disaffected party. A vast plot, known in history under the name of the Conspiracy of Amboise, was then formed, in 1560, in secret by the enemies of the government, Catholic and Protestant. Their object was to carry off the king, to remove him from the influence of the Guises, to arrest the latter, and to cause them to be tried as guilty of high treason. The Guises, under vague suspicion, removed the court from the château of Blois to that of Amboise. The conspirators persevered in their project with an incredible audacity, but a traitor in their ranks revealed their plans to the Guises. An attack made upon the château of Amboise on March 16, 1560, was frustrated by troops called together in haste by the Guises. A collision took place, but the followers of Condé and Coligny were dispersed and the executions began. The vengence of the Guises was atrocious. The waters of the Loire carried away a multitude of corpses; the streets of Amboise ran with human blood. For a month they did nothing but behead, hang and drown. Condé himself was in peril, but he escaped immediate danger by boldly appearing at court and justifying himself before the king; he caused his accusers to be silent, but not the suspicions, and civil war appeared imminent.

The two parties met together in arms at Fontainebleau, in 1560, where the Guises had convoked the principal magistrates to consult concerning the means of establishing peace. Coligny in this assembly presented uselessly a petition in the name of fifty thousand *religionnaires,* as those of the reformed religion were called, who asked permission to pray to God according to their hearts. The assembly requested that the Estates-General be called together, and the princes of Lorraine acquiesced in this wish. On both sides plots were woven. Orleans had been fixed upon as the place of meeting for the Estates; the king betook himself there with a threatening display. The two Bourbon princes were drawn there by the Guises. The King of Navarre ran the risk of his life in an audience which Francis II. gave him, and Condé was made prisoner. A commission, appointed by the Guises, condemned Condé to lose his head. The death of the feeble Francis II., in 1560, prevented the execution of the prince. This reign finished under the most sinister auspices. The wise and virtuous Michel de l'Hôpital, the chancellor of the kingdom, made the greatest effort to prevent the Guises from introducing into France the execrable tribunal of the inquisition, but he could only succeed in it by publishing the

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Edict of Romorantin, which attributed to the prelates of the kingdom the knowledge of the crimes of heresy, May, 1560. The Parlement modified this edict before registering it, and permitted the laity to have recourse to the judge royal.

Charles IX. was only ten years old when he succeeded his brother, Francis II. The Estates-General, still assembled at Orleans, decreed the regency to Catherine de' Medici, and recognized the King of Narvarre in his quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The Chancellor l'Hôpital had refused to sign the arrest which condemned to death the Prince of Condé. Catherine de' Medici, by her counsel, declared Condé innocent of the crime of which he was accused, and Montmorency was recalled to the court, where, nevertheless, the Guises remained powerful and formidable.

The queen-mother played fast and loose between the two parties, at one time relying on the Guises and the Catholics, at another attaching herself to the Protestants and the Bourbons. The former sought the support of the gloomy and cruel Philip II., King of Spain, and gained over the constable to their side on the plea that the Catholic religion was endangered. The Marshal Saint André was also gained over to the side of the Lorraine princes and formed with the constable and Francis of Guise a league which received the name of the triumvirate. An edict, dated in the month of July, 1561, granted to the Protestants an amnesty for the past and ordered them to live in the Catholic religion under pain of prison and exile; death would no longer be pronounced against them. This edict only made malcontents and was never observed. The queen endeavored to bring together Francis of Guise and Condé; they embraced each other, but remained mortal enemies.

The Estates-General assembled in the course of the year at Pontoise. The electors were assembled by province, and, each of the thirteen provinces having only named one deputy from each order, thirty-nine members alone sat in the Estates. In the same year a celebrated assembly was held, under the name of the Conference of Poissy, in which the Cardinal of Lorraine invited the Protestant ministers to discuss with him and the Catholic bishops the principal points of the two religions. The discussion finished like all theological disputes: each one remained more firmly fixed than ever in his own opinion.

The Edict of July was not observed in any particular: the Protestants braved it openly, and united together in a great number

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1562

of places. Catherine de' Medici then gave an order to all the parlements to appoint deputies who should assist in forming an edict more suitable to the circumstances. This new assembly, held in 1562, was presided over by L'Hôpital, and the wise Edict of January was the result. It was therein decreed that the Calvinists should give up the usurped churches, keep the fête days, and respect the exterior acts of the Catholic religion; they were permitted, however, to meet together, in order to exercise their religion outside the towns, but without arms. This celebrated edict was welcomed by the Calvinists with an enthusiasm which doubled their confidence, while the Catholics received it in a stern and mournful silence. The peace that it maintained between them was of short duration; each party strengthened and prepared itself for war. The Guises had drawn to them the King of Navarre; while Condé, his brother, declared himself chief of the Protestants, towards whom the queen-mother appeared then to incline. The Catholics, alarmed at the favor which Condé enjoyed, called Guise to Paris. He passed through the little town of Vassy, in Champagne, at the time when the Protestants were assembled in worship. His fanatical troops fell upon them sword in hand, and sixty Calvinists were slaughtered: this massacre became the signal for war. Guise entered Paris as a conqueror, amid the cheers of the people. The two parties in arms watched each other for many days in Paris, and the queen, in order to prevent the shedding of blood, arranged with their chiefs, Guise and Condé, that they should leave the capital. They obeyed, but in order to unite their partisans and to prepare themselves for war.

Condé thought of making himself master of the person of Charles IX., but the triumvirate prevented him. They removed the young king to Fontainebleau, and conducted him to Paris, where Catherine herself accompanied him. The constable commenced open war by attacking and burning several Protestant churches in Paris. Condé, Admiral Coligny, and his brother Dandelot hastened immediately to Orleans, and assembled there their forces. Both sides had recourse to foreign aid; the Guises were supported by the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy; the Calvinists negotiated with Elizabeth, and called into France a body of German knights. The army of the Huguenots, or Protestants, was remarkable for its fine and severe discipline, but both leaders and men were inspired by a fanaticism as gloomy and as cruel as that of the Catholic army.

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The most frightful atrocities were committed by both sides in cold blood. Beaugency was carried by assault by the Protestants; Blois, Tours, Poictiers, and Rouen experienced first all the fury of this atrocious war. The town of Rouen, defended by Montgomery, the involuntary murderer of Henry II., had been besieged by the King of Navarre, Anthony of Bourbon, who was slain under its walls.

Of all the great towns of France which he had taken, Condé possessed only Lyons and Orleans, when the two armies, the one commanded by that prince and the other by the constable, met near Dreux in 1562. The Protestants were defeated; Condé himself was made a prisoner, while, on the other hand, Montmorency was taken and the Marshal Saint André killed. This new triumph, the captivity of the constable and that of Condé, the death of Anthony of Bourbon and of Marshal Saint André, rendered Francis of Guise the most powerful man in the kingdom. He was appointed lieutenant-general, and hastened to march upon Orleans, the siege of which he pressed. This was the end of his success and of his life. A Protestant, John Poltrot of Méré, assassinated him by shooting him with a pistol; his death was the safety of Orleans.

The ascendency which the death of Francis of Guise had given to Condé, led Catherine to propose peace, and the prince, unknown to Coligny, and without sufficient guarantee, accepted terms which granted to the Protestant seigniors and nobles the right to exercise their religion in their seigniories or houses. The bourgeoisie obtained liberty of conscience, but they could only exercise their religion in one town of each bailiwick and in the places which were in possession of the Protestants. The death of the Duke of Guise had placed the party of Condé in a position to dictate peace, and this treaty, called the Convention of Amboise (1563), was received with indignation by Coligny, by Calvin, and by the Protestant chiefs. Peace, however, was taken advantage of in order to attack the foreigners, and the constable, at the head of the rest of the royal army, drove the English from Havre, and the clergy paid the expenses of the expedition. Its goods, by the advice of L'Hôpital, were alienated to the value of a hundred thousand crowns per annum. After the Convention of Amboise Condé forgot himself for a time among the pleasures of the court. A frightful plot for a general massacre of the Protestants, contrived by the Constable Montmorency, was baffled by the queen-mother, but the thunders of the Vatican, the anathemas of the Council of Trent, the entreaties of foreign princes,

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all excited the passions of the Catholics, and everything presaged that peace would be of short duration. At this period Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, and widow of Anthony of Bourbon, having been suspected and convicted of heresy, a bull declared her deprived of her royal dignity, and delivered up the states to the first occupant.

The Council of Trent approached its end, after having existed twenty-one years from its first session. Before dissolving it issued some important decisions concerning dogmas and discipline. All concessions to the spirit of the times was studiously refused. France accepted the acts of the council relative to dogmas, but refused to be bound by those which referred to discipline, as being contrary to the principles of the Gallican church. The council was dissolved in December, 1563.

Charles IX., in 1564, summoned at Moulins an assembly of the notables, to which were called, for the purpose of conciliation, the Duke of Guise, Admiral Coligny, and a great number of princes and nobles, and the presidents of the different parlements. During the session of this assembly L'Hôpital caused many celebrated ordinances to be passed, known under the name of the Edicts of Moulins, embracing, among others, a code of reformation for justice, based on principles full of moderation and equity. But all his efforts, zealously continued during the three years that preceded the next appeal to arms, failed to bring together the Guises and the Châtillons. The latter had only too much cause for alarm. Everywhere the Convention of Amboise was violated by the Catholics. Catherine negotiated with Philip II. for the destruction of the Protestant chiefs, and the Swiss guards, created by Louis XI., were at the same time strongly augmented. These precautions gave umbrage to the Protestants. They had warning of the projects of their enemies, and sought to prevent them by instant action. The admiral and Condé called their party to arms, and the second civil war was declared. The first important conflict in this war was the drawn battle of St. Denis, fought in 1567, in which the old constable lost his life.

Although the battle of St. Denis had no decisive result, Catherine, alarmed by the earnestness with which the Protestants threw themselves into the strife, again made advances for peace, offering for the future to observe the Convention of Amboise with strictness. Her proposal was accepted, contrary to the advice of the principal

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chiefs, and the two parties signed a second peace at Longjumeau. The people who foresaw the motives and results gave to it the name of the "Badly Established Peace" (1568); it suspended hostilities with difficulty, but assassinations multiplied.

L'Hôpital endeavored without success to conciliate the opposing parties. By the intrigues of the Catholics he was compelled to surrender the seals of office and retire to his estates, where he passed the remainder of his life.

L'Hôpital having retired from public affairs, nothing could restrain the rage of the factions. The queen-mother herself seemed to have renounced temporizing and prudence. She endeavored, but vainly, to take by surprise the Protestant chiefs. Then there appeared edicts thundering against the Calvinists, and their religion was forbidden throughout the kingdom, on which they took up arms in all parts. The Catholic army, under the Duke of Anjou and Marshal Tavannes, met the Protestant army, commanded by Condé, upon the banks of the Charente, near Jarnac (1569). There a sanguinary and unequal combat took place, sustained by the cavalry of the prince alone, against all the forces of the Catholics. The Protestants were beaten; Condé, who defended himself like a hero, although his leg had been broken at the beginning of the action by a kick from a horse, was forced to surrender; but soon, Montesquiou, captain of the guards of the Duke of Anjou, rushed in and assassinated the prince in a cowardly manner by a pistol-shot. Thus died Louis of Condé, who had scarcely attained his thirty-ninth year.

The court was wild with triumph, but the Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, a woman of great piety and of noble courage, reanimated the hopes of her party. She repaired to Cognac, in Angoumois, in 1569, where the remains of the Calvinistic army were assembled, and presented to the soldiers Henry, her son, Prince of Bearn, and Henry, son of Prince Louis of Condé, both sixteen years old, as champions of religious liberty in France. Both youths swore to persevere in the common cause till death or victory had crowned their efforts, and immediately the Prince of Bearn was proclaimed general-in-chief, amid the applause of the army, under the direction of Coligny. The combat of Roche-Abeille, the first where Henry of Bearn distinguished himself, was to the advantage of the Protestants. Soon the two armies found themselves in presence of each other near Moncontour in Poitou (1570). The Calvinists occupied a bad position. Coligny wished to change it;

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the soldiers wished to fight. The action commenced. The carnage of the Prostestants was frightful, and, in half an hour, of twenty-five thousand men only five or six hundred rallied round Coligny. The admiral, however, although severely wounded, managed to conduct the remains of his forces and the young princes in safety into Languedoc, where Montgomery rejoined them with his troops. The Calvinists reappeared once more in an imposing attitude, and Coligny conducted them towards Paris by forced marches. On both sides the need for rest was extreme, and peace was signed at Saint Germain, in 1570, where the court was then being held.

Peace called back into France order and security; the people hoped that they had seen the end of so many evils. Jeanne d'Albret, the young princes, and Coligny were invited to the court. The king lavished upon them the most flattering words. The marriage of the Prince of Bearn with Margaret of Valois, sister of Charles, was projected. The difference of religion presented an obstacle, but the king himself smoothed away all difficulties. Jeanne d'Albret died in the midst of these negotiations, but the projected marriage was carried out between Margaret and young Henry, who immediately after the death of his mother had taken the title of King of Navarre.

But while the flattery and attentions of the court party were lulling the Protestants into a false security the queen-mother and her partisans were taking steps to encompass their total destruction throughout the kingdom. The Admiral Coligny was wounded dangerously by a shot fired from an arquebuse by Maurevel, an assassin in the pay of Catherine, but the king averted suspicion of the complicity of the court by visiting the wounded man. At last the queen-mother wrung from her son a reluctant consent for a general massacre of the Protestants, whom it was sought to draw together to the capital in the greatest numbers possible. They came to Paris in crowds, and at a council held at the Tuileries on August 23, 1572, it was settled that the execution should commence on the following day, Saint Bartholomew's day. Tavannes gave the order, in the presence of the king, to the provost of the merchants, John Charron, to cause the companies of bouregois to be armed, and to unite at midnight at the Hôtel de Ville, and to throw themselves upon the Calvinists at the first sound of the tocsin bell. The murderers, in order to recognize each other, were obliged to wear a scarf on the left arm and a white cross on the hat. At midnight, August 24,

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1572, the signal was given at the gloomy sound of the bell. The town was filled with assassins, and first of all a band of soldiers, directed by Henry of Guise, sought out the house of Coligny. The gates were opened in the name of the king, and in a few minutes the lifeless body of the admiral was hurled from the window into the court. Already death was everywhere in Paris; the Huguenots left their houses, half-naked, at the sound of the tocsin, amid cries of their murdered brethren, and perished by hundreds. Tavannes, the Dukes of Angoulême and Anjou, Henry of Guise and Montpensier, stirred up the executioners to the carnage, while the bourgeoisie were rivals in ferocity with the greatest seigniors. The king himself fired from a window in the Louvre on the fugitives. The massacre lasted three days in Paris, where five thousand persons lost their lives. On the third day Charles summoned the Parlement; he dared to justify his conduct, and the president, Christopher de Thou, had the shameless weakness to approve of it. Royal orders were hurried into all the provinces commanding similar massacres. Meaux, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, Lyon, Toulouse, and Rouen became the theaters of horrible scenes. The young King of Navarre and Henry of Condé ran the risk of their lives during the massacre; Charles made them come into his presence and said to them, in a terrible voice, "The mass or death!" Yielding to necessity, the two princes apparently recanted and remained prisoners.

This savage massacre was promptly followed by a most terrible civil war. A great number of Catholics embraced the reformed religion on account of the horror inspired in them by Saint Bartholomew. The thirst for vengence, carried to rage, doubled the forces of the Protestants. La Rochelle was the principal stronghold of the Protestants. Charles felt the necessity of taking it. The defense was heroic; it lasted six months, and cost immense sums and twenty thousand men to the Catholics. Sancerre also sustained a memorable siege. Montauban, Nismes, and other towns were in the power of the Protestants. A fourth peace was signed in 1572. It granted to the reformers in these places the majority of the advantages guaranteed by the preceding treaties.

From this time till the death of the king few events of importance occurred. The Duke of Anjou was chosen King of Poland in 1572 and quitted France. The Prince of Condé escaped from captivity in the following year, but the King of Navarre was still held in durance at court. After the massacre of Saint Bartholomew

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AN EPISODE DURING THE MASSACRE OF THE NIGHT OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, PARIS, 1572

Painting by K. F. Hulm

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1573-1576

Charles IX. seemed to pine away, overwhelmed at intervals by fits of delirium and unavailing regrets for the crimes which he had sanctioned. He died on May 30, 1574, when only twenty-four years of age.

The Duke of Anjou succeeded his brother under the name of Henry III. He was in Poland when Charles IX. died, and Catherine de' Medici assumed the regency until his return. One of the first acts of her authority was to order the execution of Montgomery, made prisoner at Domfront, the accidental murderer of Henry II., and one of the most illustrious of the Protestant chiefs. His execution provoked fresh acts of vengeance on the part of the Protestants. A new war was announced. The Protestants saw with horror one of the principal authors of Saint Bartholomew upon the throne; one who had signalized himself the most on those execrable days. Condé assembled his forces and negotiated with the Elector Palatine, in order to obtain considerable support. Suddenly the Duke of Alençon, brother of the king, whom the queen-mother had long suspected of a tendency to favor the Huguenots, escaped from the court, though closely guarded, joined the confederates, and reappeared before the gates of Paris. Soon after, the King of Navarre contrived to quit Paris, joined the princes, and abjured Catholicism in their camp, where he found Prince Casimir, of the Palatinate, at the head of a numerous corps. Henry III. had already signed a truce with the confederates; he engaged to deliver to them six towns, and to pay the garrison maintained under the Duke of Alençon and the Prince of Condé. The new king gave himself up wholly to unrestrained debauchery and the punctilious practices of a puerile devotion. The queen-mother, indeed, seemed to be the only one in the court party who was capable of action. Going to the camp of the confederates, she induced the Duke of Alençon to return to court by tripling his appanage and giving him the title of Duke of Anjou. The submission of this prince led the reformers, in 1576, to accept peace, which borrowed from him its name, and was called the Peace of Monsieur.

The shameful conduct of the king rendered him an object of contempt even in the eyes of his own friends. For a long time there had been formed among the princes particular leagues for the defense of the Catholic religion; soon they joined together and formed themselves into one for the maintenance of Catholi-

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cism and the destruction of Protestants, but whose real aim was the deposition of the unworthy Henry III., the descendant of Hugh Capet, and the transmission of the crown to Henry of Guise, surnamed the Balafré (on account of having a scar on his face), son of the great Francis of Guise, who was said to be descended from Charlemagne. Pope Gregory XIII. encouraged the members of the league, or Holy Union, as it was also called, and Philip II. promised to support them both with men and money.

This league had already become popular when Henry came to know of it and understand the aim of the association. He assembled, in 1576, the Estates-General at Blois, and sought to baffle the designs of Henry of Guise and his partisans by declaring himself the chief of the Holy Union. They drew up a formulary, the monarch swore to it, caused it to be accepted by the Estates, and ordered that it be signed in Paris and in the whole of France. The three orders of the Estates concurred in demanding that the Roman Catholic religion should be the only one tolerated in France, but the Third Estate deprecated the employment of violence against the Protestants. The nobles and clergy refused to concur in this, and the king, assuming that the Estates thereby sanctioned war, revoked the Edict of Pacification after the dissolution of the Estates, and in 1577 took up arms. A brief campaign in this year, in which two Catholic armies, commanded, one by the Duke of Anjou and the other by the Duke of Mayenne, the brother of the Duke of Guise, succeeded in taking many places from the confederates, was followed, in 1577, by the celebrated Peace of Bergerac, by which Henry III. granted to the Protestants the public exercise of their religion in each chief place of the bailiwick and in each royal jurisdiction outside Paris, and reëstablished them in their citizens' privileges, with right to offices and dignities. The king permitted besides, on certain conditions, the marriage of priests, repudiated Saint Bartholomew, and proscribed the league.

The Peace of Bergerac, soon confirmed by the Treaty of Nérac, would have pacified the kingdom if the king had watched over its execution, but, freed from the cares of war, he plunged again into his shameful pleasures. Soon, upon frivolous pretexts, war rekindled in all parts. The love intrigues which, in part, occasioned it, caused it to be named the "War of the Lovers." Henry III. had written to the King of Navarre, with the intention of imbroiling him with his wife Margaret. He did not succeed, and the

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King of Navarre answered him by the heroic taking of Cahors. Condé soon showed himself in arms in Languedoc, ready to sustain him. An advantageous peace for the reformers was signed in 1580, at Fleix, through the intervention of the Duke of Anjou, whose aid the Flemings had implored in their struggle for liberty with Philip II. of Spain, and whom, in return for the support promised by Henry III. and the advantages likely to accrue to them from his contemplated marriage with Queen Elizabeth of England, they had proclaimed Count of Flanders and Duke of Brabant. Profiting by the Peace of Fleix, and furnished with the consent of the king, the duke recruited an army among the French reformers. With it he freed Cambrai and took Ecluse, but having exercised in Flanders a despotic power, and caused the inhabitants of Antwerp to be massacred by his troops, he was driven out of the country by those who had called him into it, and died in retirement in 1584.

The King of Navarre, chief of the House of Bourbon, became by the death of the Duke of Anjou, the nearest heir to the throne, but in the eyes of the people his religion rendered him incapable of holding it. This circumstance reanimated the boldness and efforts of the league, but the zealous Catholics turned their regards towards the old cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, uncle of the King of Navarre, depending upon his name, until they could throw away the mask and declare openly for the Duke of Guise. The latter placed himself again boldly at the head of the leaguers. He hesitated, however, to take arms until he was encouraged to do so by Philip II., who incited him to action by promises and threats. The leaguers made the preachers thunder forth from the pulpit against the heresy of Henry of Navarre, and the people, rendered furious, demanded war and the extermination of the Calvinists. In 1585 Pope Sixtus V. fulminated a bull of excommunication against the King of Navarre, and declared him unable to succeed to the throne. Terrified at this popular effervescence, Henry III. had the weakness, by the Treaty of Nemours, to admit the pretensions of Henry of Guise. He forbade, under pain of death, the exercise of all religions except the Roman, throughout the kingdom; delivered the places of safety to the duke, and paid his foreign troops. Almost immediately the Calvinists took up arms, and this eighth war was called the War of the Three Henries.

Henry of Navarre, in order to save the blood of the people,

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vainly proposed to his enemies in the assembly of the Estates a council or a duel, astonished them by his adroit maneuvers, and caused his authority to be recognized in many provinces of the south. But Condé was less skillful and less happy, and his army was dispersed without having fought. The brilliant Duke of Joyeuse, favorite of Henry III., commanding the Catholic army, met the Calvinistic troops of Henry of Bourbon near Courtras, in Perigord. A battle took place, and the whole of the army of Joyeuse was destroyed; he himself perished fighting. But Henry did not know how to profit by his triumph; he forgot himself in effeminacy, and in a short time his army was dispersed through want of pay. The Prince of Condé survived this victory only a short time; he died, it was said, by poison.

Elizabeth, the Protestant Queen of England, then tarnished her glory in 1587 by ordering the execution of Mary Stuart, widow, by her first marriage, of Francis II., and Catholic Queen of Scotland, who, flying from her revolted subjects nineteen years previously, sought a refuge in the states of her rival. The tragical death of this queen, sister-in-law of the King of France, contributed as much as the defeat of Courtras to increase the fanatical zeal of the leaguers and their contempt for Henry III. Henry of Guise, however, as prudent as he was brave and ambitious, always skillful in watching his advantage, increased in public favor, and the boldness of the league was doubled. The leaders of the bourgeoisie of Paris declared in his favor, and summoned him to the capital, which he entered, in 1588, in opposition to the express orders of the king that he should not approach Paris, and amid the acclamations of the multitude, his feeble escort surrounded by an idolatrous crowd eager to see him and to touch his person or his dress. At an interview with the king he requested that war to the death should be made against the Huguenots and that the king's favorites and all suspected people should be driven from the court. The feeble monarch yielded, but on condition that the duke would assist in purging Paris of foreigners and people without occupation. Guise promised it, and the people murmured loudly. The king ordered the nobles to place themselves in arms round him and sent for four thousand Swiss to come to Paris. The sight of them rendered the people furious, and excited a general uprising; the streets in all directions were rendered impassable by chains and barricades, and the royal troops saw them-

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1588

selves invested and attacked on all sides without hope of retreat or safety. The Duke of Guise, however, calmed the people and induced them to permit the unfortunate Swiss to withdraw. Later in the day, when the queen-mother hastened to negotiate with him, he asked that the Bourbons should be deprived of their privileges, for places of safety, for money and for war. In the midst of the interview the duke learned that the king had fled from Paris. Taking advantage of the tumult, Henry III. had left the capital at a gallop, and did not believe himself in safety till he was at Chartres, when he was rejoined by his troops and court. This famous day, when the people delivered Paris to the Duke of Guise, was called in history the Battle of the Barricades.

Guise set to work to gain profit out of his victory by exercising the functions of the king before taking the title, but finding himself unable to induce the Parlement of Paris to sanction the measures he proposed, he sought by the advice of the queen-mother to appease the king's anger. Negotiations were accordingly opened at Chartres. Henry consented to meet with the Duke of Guise; the famous Edict of Union appeared, in 1588, and the king seemed to be delivered over to his enemy. He engaged by this edict to destroy the heretics even to the last man; he disinherited Henry of Bourbon from the throne, named Guise generalissimo, with absolute power, and gave over to him, for many years, several places of safety. These concessions, however, were only made the better to conceal the designs of the king. He had already taken, without consulting his mother, an extreme resolution, and to accomplish it the Estates-General were convoked again at Blois. Henry of Guise and the cardinal, his brother, presented themselves there boldly. The deputies were numerous; the election had been made under the influence of the Guises, and the greater part of the deputies belonged to the league. The king opened the Estates on October 16, 1588, in the great salon of the chateau of Blois. He protested, in a very remarkable discourse, his ardent desire to root out heresy and remedy the evils of the country, and, while deploring the necessity that there was for asking subsidies from the Estates, he threw the fault upon those who had wished to use violence towards himself, and who stirred up troubles in the state by means of leagues and illegal associations, pointing out clearly the Duke of Guise, upon whom every eye was turned. After the meeting, however, the Duke of Guise compelled Henry to

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promise to cut out from his harangue, in publishing it, the passages where he and his followers were designated as factious. His project, which he little disguised, was to depose the feeble monarch and to cause himself to be proclaimed in his place. The king, although he had taken the sacrament with the duke at Blois, resolved to destroy him as speedily as possible, and bribed Loignac, chief of the gentlemen of the guard, to undertake his assassination.

The hour and place were fixed. But rumors were circulated, the partisans of Guise were alarmed, and threatening notices came to him from all parts. When warned of the designs of the king, he is reported to have exclaimed, "He does not!" On December 23 he presented himself to the council; the doors were closed, and an officer notified him that he was required at the house of the king. He directed his steps towards the cabinet of the monarch; just as he entered, Montlhéry, one of the gentlemen of the guard, plunging a dagger into his breast, cried, "Traitor, you shall die!" Others threw themselves upon him and struck him, while Loingnac thrust his sword into his back. The Cardinal of Guise, who, seated at the council heard his dying brother's cries of mercy to God, was immediately arrested and sent to the tower of Moulins, where he perished the following day by assassination with all the relatives and friends of himself and his brother that happened to be in Blois and were unable to make their escape. The queen-mother only survived the Lorraine princes a few days. Before her death she had advised Henry to march at once upon Paris, where the storm was brewing, and swear anew in the Estates, to the Edict of Union, before dissolving them. This however, he did not do. He had, moreover, allowed many prisoners of high importance to escape him at Blois. His two most formidable enemies, the Duke of Mayenne and Aumale, brothers of the assassinated Guises, remained at large, although closely pursued, and they hastened to raise the people and the army.

The rage of the Parisians had no need for being excited. The news of the gloomy events of Blois provoked the explosion of their hate and fury. They proclaimed the Duke of Mayenne lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the enthusiastic Bussy Le Clerc, governor of the Bastile, enclosed in it the majority of the members of the Parlement, who were inimical to these proceedings, and a new Parlement was instituted. From that time all hopes of conciliation with the partisans of the Guises faded away before Henry

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HENRY III, THE LAST OF THE VALOIS, AND HIS PET DOGS
Painting by Charles Herrmann Leon

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1589

III. Pope Sixtus V. redoubled the audacity of the enemies of the monarch by excommunicating him for the murder of the cardinal. In danger of being invested by Mayenne in the town of Tours, one resource only remained to Henry, and he seized it by joining himself with the King of Navarre, whom he had just disinherited. The frankness and loyalty of Henry of Navarre soon gained the confidence of Henry III., and touched his heart. After a glorious success at La Noue, in Senlis, they marched together upon Paris. Bourbon pitched his camp at Meudon and Henry arranged his upon the heights of Saint Cloud, where he was mortally wounded on August 1, 1589, by a fanatic named Jacques Clement, who had made a vow to assassinate him. The murderer was immediately killed by the king's guards.

Henry of Navarre, when informed of the event, hurried from his quarters at Meudon to see the king, who had not many hours to live. Henry received absolution, and having exhorted his officers to recognize as his successor the King of Navarre, the legitimate heir to the throne, without regard to the difference of religion, then he expired, in his thirty-eighth year, after reigning fifteen years. With the new king, Henry IV., the branch of the Bourbons mounted the throne; that of the Valois had reigned two hundred and sixty-one years, and died out after having given thirteen kings to France.

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Chapter X

HENRY IV. AND THE REORGANIZATION OF FRANCE
1589-1624

HENRY IV. had been brought up by his pious and noble mother, Jeanne d'Albret, in the fear of God and in the principles of virtue. Tried early by adversity, he knew how to support it with courage and to conquer it. No prince had found himself in a more difficult position than was his after the death of Henry of Valois, having before him the league, the anathemas of the Pope, and the gold of Philip II. His predecessor had scarcely breathed his last when he was exposed to a trial. The Catholic chiefs held council, and declared to the king that if he wished to reign in France he must at once abjure the Protestant faith, which he refused to do. Upon this, eight hundred gentlemen-at-arms and nine regiments left his banners. A small number of devoted friends, with the Swiss, and some companies of cavalry, formed the permanent foundation of his forces. His followers came one by one to arrange themselves under his banner, and, in default of pay, they returned to their own homes, to remain for some months. It was necessary, too, to go from town to town, struggling and negotiating without intermission.

Fanaticism and delirium were carried to their height in Paris with the news that Henry III. was assassinated. The Parisians grossly insulted the memory of Henry III., and in their frantic joy at the king's death they declared his murderer to be a martyr. They also spread abroad furious invectives against Henry of Bourbon, recalling the Edict of Union, the bull of the Pope, and the decrees of the Sorbonne, which declared him deprived of the throne. They sought a chief, and their regards turned towards Mayenne, brother of Henry of Guise, and alone in his family capable of directing affairs. Mayenne took the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and caused to be proclaimed king, under the name of Charles X., the old Cardinal of Bourbon, whom

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Henry IV., his nephew, held a prisoner at Tours. He went out from Paris afterwards at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and met, near Dieppe, the feeble army of the king, composed altogether of seven thousand soldiers. Henry, however, won a signal advantage in a bloody combat which took place near the village of Arques. Soon after he appeared before Paris, and attacked and plundered the suburbs, driving back the Parisians into the interior of the town. In vain he offered battle to the Duke of Mayenne. He then quitted Paris in order to subdue lower Normandy, of which he made himself master.

Discord reigned in France; some wished to crown Mayenne; others declared themselves for the old Cardinal of Bourbon, while another faction supported the King of Spain, who claimed the throne for his daughter, Isabella, the niece of the late four kings by her mother, Elizabeth. The Sorbonne declared that Henry was in a state of mortal sin, and excommunicated all those who should think of adopting him as king, even if he became a Catholic. The Parlement of Paris ordered the recognition of Charles X.; the parlement sitting at Tours annulled the decrees of that of Paris, and proclaimed Henry IV. king.

Henry IV. again approached the capital, and Mayenne barred the way. The two armies met near Dreux, in the plain of Ivry, in 1590. On the morrow, at break of day, arrangements were made for the battle. Henry ordered the charge, and the army of Mayenne, although very superior in numbers, was almost destroyed. The conquerer immediately marched upon Paris, and caused the town to be blockaded by his troops. The old Cardinal of Bourbon, rival and prisoner of Henry IV., died at this time.

The blockade of the capital brought famine and mortality into its walls, and caused terrible distress among the people. At length, by order of Philip II., Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, celebrated by his exploits in Flanders, and by the taking of Antwerp, advanced upon Paris, with Mayenne, and penetrated as far as Meaux. He compelled the king to raise the blockade, forced his lines at Lagny, and revictualled the capital. Incapable of coming to an understanding with the leaders of the bourgeoisie, and docile to the injunctions of King Philip, Farnese retreated and returned into Artois, harassed in his retreat by the royal army.

Henry returned to establish his quarters at Saint Denis, and attempted to surprise Paris by means of soldiers concealed under

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sacks of flour. This abortive attempt and the stratagem to which the king had recourse gave to this engagement the name of the Flour Battle. Discord reigned in Paris; Mayenne agitated on one side for his house; on the other a considerable faction agitated for Philip II., who paid them to advocate the claim of his daughter, who was excluded by the Salic Law from the succession. A new chief divided the members of the league: the young Duke of Guise, son of the Balafré, recently escaped from prison, was received with transports in Paris, and many opposed him to Mayenne. Nevertheless, he played no important part. The new Pope, Gregory XIV., eager to sustain the league, sent him a reinforcement of soldiers, who only signalized themselves by the most horrible brigandage.

The war continued with ferocity, and the Duke of Parma reëntered France by skillful marches. Henry rashly exposed himself in the battle of Aumale (1592), where he was wounded. Farnese nearly took him prisoner, and compelled him to raise the siege of Rouen. Although very inferior in forces, Henry sustained the war with advantage, displaying a marvellous activity and the resources of a fertile and indefatigable genius, escaping from the enemy when the latter thought they were about to seize him, and falling upon them unexpectedly, when they thought that he was far off. It was thus that, by a course of prudent and bold maneuvers, he shut up Farnese near Dieppe, between the sea, the Seine, and the three main bodies of his army, but the Duke of Parma, unknown to the king, constructed a pontoon bridge in one night, deceived his vigilance, crossed the Seine, and covered his retreat.

Henry again approached Paris, when the Estates-General of the league, convoked by Mayenne, at the request of Philip II., assembled together to elect a king. He caused himself to be well-informed in the Catholic religion; and Mayenne, in the midst of the factions which divided the states, remained undecided between the two principals, of which the one consented to proclaim Henry IV. if he abjured, while the other was devoted to Spain. At this juncture the king received unexpected support from the Parlement of Paris, the members of which were tired of the intimidation exercised by the leaders of the Spanish party. Upon the advice of Edward Molé, attorney-general, it ordered the president, John Lemaitre, to present himself to the lieutenant-general, in

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1593-1594

order to recommend him to see to it that no foreign house under the pretext of religion should place itself on the throne, declaring all the treaties made with this aim null and contrary to the Salic Law and the constitution of the kingdom. This unexpected declaration surprised and irritated Mayenne, but John Lemaitre sustained this decree before him with courage. The matter was decided finally by the adoption of the Catholic faith by the king, who proposed a truce, at the same time fixing July 25 as the day on which the ceremony of his abjuration of Protestanism should take place.

Mayenne, who saw the designs which he had entertained on the crown frustrated by this step, forbade the Parisians to be witnesses, and ordered them to close their doors. They violated his order and assisted in a crowd at the ceremony. Henry made his abjuration at St. Denis, under the hands of the Archbishop of Bourges, July 25, 1593. He promised to live and to die in the heart of the Roman Catholic Church, and to defend it against all. He repeated his profession of faith at the foot of the great altar, then the *"Te Deum"* burst out, while the people interrupted with cries of *"Vive le roi!"* Mayenne, however, held Paris until the following year, and it was not until March 22, after Mayenne had quitted the capital to raise new troops on the frontiers of Champagne for the prolongation of the war, that the gates of the city were thrown open to Henry. The Parisians received him enthusiastically, the factions of Mayenne and Spain holding back through surprise and fear. His march was a triumph, and from that day he looked upon himself among the Parisians as in the midst of his children. The Spanish garrison left Paris on the same day with the honors of war. The king received the Bastile on terms of war, welcomed the repentant and submissive Sorbonne, and united to the Parlement of Paris the magistrates of the parlements which he had established at Châlons and Tours.

As to the situation of the king between the Catholics and Protestants, the former had seen his conversion with distrust, and accused him of hypocrisy. He could only gain them over by lavishing on them numerous favors. The latter, irritated at his abjuration, looked with impatience on the honors and bribes heaped upon the Catholics, and accused the king of ingratitude. Although Paris had submitted, war continued in all parts of the kingdom. However, Amiens, Beauvais, Cambrai, and Château-Thierry gave

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themselves up separately after the taking of Laon. Soon, Montmorency, Epernon, the Duke of Guise, La Châtre, and Bois-Dauphin submitted, but they fixed their submission at an enormous price. It was necessary that the king should deposit in their hands immense sums and an authority which nearly rendered them sovereign in their own governments and which, later on, was the cause of great troubles.

An attempt made in 1594 by John Châtel, at the instigation of the Jesuits, to assassinate the king caused the speedy expulsion of every one belonging to the order from France. Philip II. would then have consented to a peace if Henry had agreed to leave to him certain possessions in France; the French nobles of his party were equally willing on condition that they were allowed to keep the provinces of which they were masters, at the price of homage to the crown. The king energetically repulsed these pretensions and declared war against Philip, whose mosts powerful supporters were the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany, Aumale in Pacardy, and Mayenne in Burgundy. The last of the three, not long before chief of the league, and an aspirant to the crown, had become the instrument of Spain. He was accompanied by Valasco, Constable of Castile, when the king bore down rapidly to receive him near Dijon. The battle of Fontaine-Française (1595), where Henry, with only three hundred horse, held his own against two thousand, and exposed his life in order to save that of Biron, confounded the hopes of Mayenne, who declared himself ready to recognize Henry as soon as that prince should have received the absolution of the Pope. This was formally bestowed on the Abbés Duperron and D'Ossat, who were selected as the king's representatives, by Clement VIII., in St. Peter's, at Rome in 1595, and the Pope further proclaimed him King of France and Navarre.

This solemn act took away all motive for war and all hope from the leaguers. Mayenne obtained from the king that his family should be declared absolved from the crime of complicity with the murder of Henry III.; he placed his submission at this price. The edict was promulgated. In 1596 Mayenne recognized Henry IV., and from that time served him faithfully. The king then assembled all his forces against the Spaniards, who had just taken Calais, Amiens, and many other places. Henry, without money, made an appeal to his people. The faithful Rosny, Duke of Sully, assisted him in raising some millions and an army.

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1596-1599

Amiens was retaken in the following year; the Duke of Mercœur treated then with the king, and Brittany laid down its arms. These happy successes prepared the way for a general peace. Philip II., in 1598, six months before his death, signed the Peace of Vervins, delivering over to the King of France all the places occupied by his troops, with the exception of the Cambrai.

Henry, freed from the cares of foreign wars, issued during the same year the celebrated Edict of Nantes, which fixed the rights of the Protestants in France. This edict, drawn up by Jeannin, Schomberg, Colignon, and the historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou, granted to the Protestants the exercise of their religion. It certified to them admission to all employment, established in each parlement a chamber composed of magistrates of each religion, tolerated the general assemblies of the reformers, authorizing them to raise taxes among themselves for the wants of their church; lastly, it indemnified their ministers and granted them places of safety, the principal of which was La Rochelle. The Protestants were compelled to pay tithes and to observe the holy days of the Catholic church. The Edict of Nantes, registered by the parlements after long resistance, put an end to the disastrous wars which for thirty-six years had desolated the kingdom.

The condition of France was greatly ameliorated by the Treaty of Vervins, which gave peace with the foreigners, and the Edict of Nantes, which reëstablished internal tranquillity. Two causes of agitation and disorder threatened, however, to arrest the course of this reviving prosperity; one was the dissatisfaction of a large number of Catholic and Protestant nobles, former enemies of the king, or his companions in arms, most of them suffering from the severe and economical measures of the monarch, and affected either in their fortunes or their political importance by the diminution which peace brought about; while the other sprang from the personal weaknesses of the monarch himself. The marriage of Henry with Marguerite of Valois proved barren, Marguerite, taking no pains to conceal the scandals of her conduct, lived apart from her husband, and the austere Rosny, Duke of Sully, the confidant and prime minister of the king, would, long ago, have pressed her divorce, had he not dreaded the king's weakness towards his mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrees, Duchess of Beaufort, whom Henry more than once had manifested a desire to raise to the throne. Gabrielle died

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suddenly in 1599, and the rupture of his marriage was pronounced the following year, by the Church of Rome. After his divorce Henry espoused Marie de' Medici, niece of Francis II., reigning Grand Duke of Tuscany. During the negotiations, the king commenced a new intrigue with Henrietta d'Entragues, who, actuated by an ambitious father, exacted a promise of marriage. Henry was imprudent enough to sign one, engaging himself to marry her if she brought him a son within the year, and he further named her Marquise de Verneuil. This guilty and unfortunate connection, and the fatal engagement that sprang from it, reanimated, later on, the hopes of the factions, and became a source of uneasiness to the state, and of bitter grief to the sovereign.

At the head of the malcontent nobles there were, in the Protestant party, the Dukes of Bouillon and La Trémouille; among the Catholics, the Duke of Epernon, Charles de Valois, Count of Auvergne, natural son of Charles IX., and uterine brother of the Marquise de Verneuil, and last, but not least, Charles de Gontant, Duke de Biron, Marshal of France and governor of Burgundy, son of the famous Marshal de Biron, and himself one of the most illustrious and able generals of Henry IV. Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, retained possession of the marquisate of Saluces, which he had usurped. Summoned by the king to make restitution of it, he came to the court of France to hatch plots, and to this end offered one of his daughters to Biron, with the full sovereignty of Burgundy as a dowry; on this condition the marshal promised, in case of war, to arouse and gather to his standard all the malcontents against the king. Emboldened by these assurances, Emmanuel refused to make restitution of the marquisate of Saluces, and Henry declared war against him. In 1600 the king put two armies in the field; he took the command of one, and confided the other to the Marshal de Biron, who was forced to conquer in spite of himself. Emmanuel sued for peace, and by a treaty, concluded at Lyons in 1601, was permitted to retain the marquisate of Saluces in exchange for Bresse, Bugey and De Gex, which were ceded to France. Henry IV. had received intelligence of the trafficking of Biron with his enemies. In a conversation he had with him at Lyons he revealed to him his suspicions; the marshal did not deny his crime, and was generously pardoned. The king, however, had been imperfectly informed and Biron made only an incomplete avowal. This was one of the causes of

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his downfall. He renewed his guilty correspondence with the Duke of Savoy and drew into his conspiracy the Duke of Bouillon and the Count of Auvergne. They fomented disturbances throughout the western provinces, while Limoges and many towns of Guienne rose against a recently imposed tax, of a sou per livre, and known under the name of the "Pancarte Tax." They at the same time spread the rumor that the odious tax of the gabelle was to be reëstablished in Guienne and in the other districts which had been freed from it. At last Biron and the Duke of Savoy flattered themselves with the belief that an approaching insurrection was about to aid their projects. Meanwhile the king had become acquainted with the intrigues of the marshal, while the latter believed himself in profound security. His secretary had preserved the written proofs and details of the crime, and these he gave up to the king. Biron was immediately summoned to Fontainebleau, where the court was held. Henry received him graciously. He offered him, if he would confess, an unconditional pardon and his favor, but Biron remained inflexible. Unable to induce him to secure his safety by a frank acknowledgment of his guilt, the king had no alternative but to order him and the Count of Auvergne to be arrested and taken to the Bastile. When confronted with his secretary who had betrayed him, the unfortunate marshal could no longer deny his guilt, and he was condemned to death by the Parlement of Paris, and beheaded in the court of the Bastile, December 2, 1601. The Count of Avergne was pardoned.

Henry was then at the height of his fortune. The year following his marriage the queen bore her husband a son, who became Louis XIII. The kingdom prospered by the vigilant attentions of the monarch, by his economy, and above all, in consequence of the care of Sully. It is an immortal honor to the memory of Henry that he should have given all his confidence to his austere minister, who had so little indulgence for the frailties of his master. This able statesman, after the signature of the Treaty of Vervins, found in the kingdom neither an organized army, nor commerce nor industry, while an enormous debt weighed upon the treasury, and the credit of France was annihilated. In a few years, however, he created an imposing war material and placed the army upon a formidable footing. He exposed the frauds of the farmers of the revenue, who scarcely al-

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lowed one-tenth of the public revenue to find its way into the treasury, and suppressed the system of underletting, together with a multitude of offices of finance. Lastly, he established order and the strictest economy in all branches of the administration; revised the funds of the state, and quickly abolished any vexatious imposts; encouraged agriculture and manufactures, laying the foundations of the silk trade of France by the introduction of mulberry trees; and made roads and built bridges in all parts of the kingdom. The king heartily seconded Sully in all his wise schemes, and turned his attention to the enlargement and embellishment of Paris. He joined the suburb Saint Germain to the city, and caused it to be paved; he commenced the Place Royale, and finished the Pont Neuf, and the beautiful facade of the Hôtel de Ville, as well as the gallery which united the Louvre to the Tuileries.

Henry IV., notwithstanding his advancing years, still listened to his passions, and fresh frailties nearly proved fatal to him. An intrigue with the youngest daughter of the Count of Entragues, sister of the Marquise of Verneuil, inspired her father with the hope of rendering valid the promise which the Marquise of Verneuil had formerly obtained from Henry IV., of nullifying his marriage with Marie de' Medici, and thus declaring the dauphin illegitimate and elevating the eldest son of his daughter Henriette to the throne. His principal accomplices were the Count of Auvergne and the Duke of Bouillon; the former put himself in communication with the court of Madrid, and they all counted upon the intervention of a Spanish army. It was arranged that the king should be attacked and carried off, but an attempt made by a number of masked men to seize the king in a wood was frustrated by his courage and presence of mind (1602). The conspirators were discovered: the Counts of Entragues and Auvernge were arrested, with the Marquise of Verneuil and many others.

The two counts and Henriette were pardoned, but many of their accomplices were executed. The Duke of Bouillon soon afterwards made his submission. Henry had now reached the zenith of his glory and of his strength. Master of a flourishing kingdom, of a treasury of forty millions, of a numerous army containing the finest artillery in Europe, he found himself possessed of the respect of all his contemporary sovereigns. He decided

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1608-1609

between them as an arbitrator, and reconciled their disputes. During the five previous years he had enjoyed the favor of the Papal court, having regained it in 1603, by the recall of the Jesuits at the pressing solicitations of his confessor, Father Cotton. The king had, moreover, the glory of acting, in 1609, as mediator between Spain and Holland. The new-born, but already formidable navy of that republic attacked the Spanish and Portuguese establishments in the Indies, while her armies triumphed under the famous Maurice of Nassau, son of William of Orange. Henry IV. brought about a truce of twelve years, signed in 1609, between the two nations.

It was at this period that he committed the greatest fault of his reign, that which most troubled his peace of mind and stained his glory. Loving to infatuation Charlotte of Montmorency, whom he himself had caused to be married to the young Prince of Condé, he could not master his fatal passion. Condé fled with his wife, and requested the protection of the Archduke Albert, governor of the Low Countries. Upon receiving this unexpected news, Henry burst forth into menace, and summoned the archduke to send back to him the fugitives. Condé left Flanders and repaired to Germany, where the archduchess took the young princess under her safeguard to Brussels, keeping her out of the reach of the emissaries of the king, who suddenly declared war against Spain and Austria (1609). This sudden declaration of war, the apparent motive of which was personal vengeance and the desire to gratify a guilty passion, evoked a general outcry against him. Henry, notwithstanding, formed some useful alliances. John William, last Duke of Cleves, had just died, without children; several pretenders disputed his heritage, and the Emperor Rudolph II. had summoned the decision of the cause to his tribunal. The Protestant princes would not accept of him as a judge, and formed against him, at Halle, a celebrated league, known under the name of the "Evangelical Union." They asked for the support of France, and obtained it. Henry also allied himself with the Duke of Savoy, with the petty sovereigns of Italy and with the Grisons. Philip III., justly alarmed, talked of peace, and offered his daughter, the infanta, to the dauphin. Henry rejected this pacific proposal. He was alive to his own wrong-doings, but though he suffered he could neither justify himself nor change his conduct. Disquieted, irritated, his sole thought was of the young princess

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whom he pursued, and he hastened the warlike preparation, impatient to command his army and to march upon the frontier of Flanders.

He designed that the queen should assume the regency during this campaign, and to render her authority more imposing he ordered that she should be crowned. This ceremonial took place on May 13, 1610. Throughout the whole day the king was restless and melancholy. On the day following his melancholy increased; he was agitated with painful presentiments, which his friends could not remove. After dinner, about four o'clock, the officer of his guard persuaded him to take the air in his carriage. On entering the Rue de la Ferronnerie, a confusion, occasioned by two vehicles, obliged the royal carriage to stop, and dispersed the royal servants. At this moment a man named Francis Ravaillac mounted upon the wheel and dealt the king a blow with a knife, between the second and third ribs. Henry cried out: "I am wounded!" but the assassin, not disconcerted, dealt him a second blow, stabbing him through the heart, on which the king, heaving a deep sigh, died soon afterwards. Thus perished Henry IV., at the age of fifty-seven. The regicide, who made no attempt to escape, was immediately arrested, tried, and condemned to be torn asunder by horses. Never did the death of a king cause such a general stupor or cause more tears to flow. France was plunged into mourning; trade was suspended in Paris; work of all kind ceased; the country-folks when assured of their misfortune cried with sobs: "We have lost our father!" Henry was worthy of the grand and endearing title of "father of the people," for the happiness of his subjects was the aspiration of his heart and the end of his whole life. He ameliorated their condition, created for them new sources of wealth, and rendered his kingdom, whose limits he enlarged, as flourishing as it was possible to make it in twelve years after the horrible calamities of the wars of religion. The wise administration of this good king, as well as the heroic qualities which distinguished him, well merited the surname of "Great," which posterity has bestowed upon him.

Henry IV. left his kingdom in a flourishing state—treasure amounting to fifteen millions, large bodies of well-disciplined troops, strong places abundantly supplied with the material of war, firm alliances with other kingdoms, and a well-composed council of state. After his death the feebleness of the government, the quar-

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rels of the princes and the jealous ambition and caprices of the queen-mother, speedily scattered all these elements of prosperity. Marie de' Medici, an imperious, violent and vindictive woman, at once claimed the regency of the kingdom for Louis XIII. There was no law, however, by which she could legally claim this office, and none which defined its attributes. The monarchy had no fundamental institution, and it was from this fact that arose the numerous plagues which afflicted France on each occurrence of a minority. On the other hand, none of the members of the Bourbon family were in a position to dispute her authority. The Parlement of Paris was immediately convoked, and, three hours after the death of the king, his widow was declared to be the regent.

The question of war or peace was the first which had to be decided. Sully wished to continue the war with the House of Austria, but his advice was only followed in part. The Duke of Savoy was abandoned to the resentment of Spain, while in Germany operations were confined to the siege and capture of Juliers, in 1610, which was subsequently given up. This was the only result of the campaign, and the unsettled state of the country then rendered it necessary for the regent to abandon entirely the policy of Henry IV.

Condé reëntered France, and, as the price of his adhesion to the regency, demanded immense pecuniary compensation. All the courtiers followed his example, claimed gold or honors, and supposing that, to secure the peaceful possession of the regency, it was only necessary to enrich her friends and her enemies, Medici converted into gifts and pensions the treasure left by the late king, and when it was exhausted found herself deprived of the means of defense against those whose cupidity or ambition she had excited without possessing the means of satisfying them. The whole of France appeared to be delivered over to the mercy of a number of plunderers whose numbers insured them immunity. The nobles demanded tolls on roads which were free and taxes in cities which were exempt from them. They created offices, patents of nobility, and priviliges of all sorts for money, and secretly increased the amount of every species of duty and excise. The honest Sully, unable to support a government which connived at such proceedings, quitted the council and retired to his estates.

The Guises and the Condés, the Bouillons and the Epernons, remained the sole masters of the kingdom, and vied with each other

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in cupidity, egotism, and violence. In the midst of these disorders Marie de' Medici raised her favorite, Concini, Marquis of Ancre, an Italian, to the highest pinnacle of honor and fortune. He was marshal of France, although he had never borne arms.

A revolt burst forth at length, but it was not the excess of the public misfortunes which lit its flame. At the commencement of 1614 the Prince of Condé, the Dukes of Nevers, Mayenne, Bouillon, and Longueville, being leagued against Concini, seized Mezières in the Ardennes, and raised the standard of insurrection. Condé was at the head of the movement, and published a manifesto which exposed, in bitter terms, the ill administration of the queen, reproaching her with having failed to observe the Edict of Nantes, and with having overwhelmed the poor with taxes, and openly attacking the insolent foreigners in whose hands was the government of the kingdom. This movement made by grandees in the name of the popular interests attracted however, but little popular sympathy. The queen, by the advice of Concini, bought off the malcontents, in 1614, by the Treaty of Sainte-Menehould, surnamed the "Paltry Peace." By this treaty the queen increased the dignities and pensions of the rebel lords, and promised a prompt assembly of the Estates-General.

Louis XIII. was now in his fourteenth year, and was recognized as of age, but it was long after this ere he was anything save king in name. Marie de' Medici still retained her power, and for the purpose of executing the Treaty of Sainte-Menehould she convoked the Estates-General for October 26 of that year. These Estates were the last which assembled before those of 1789. The queen and her ministers endeavored to paralyze their influence by setting each order against the others, and in this they were successful.

The assembly was dissolved in the course of the following year without having achieved any important result, and the deputies were dismissed with a vague promise that the government would examine their memorials and take into consideration their demands. The memorials of the Third Estate contained the elements of a portion of the reforms accomplished, at the close of the following century, by a more celebrated assembly. These were, a uniform system of customs and weights and measures, the abolition of masterships and wardships, the suppression of farmers-general of the finances and of exceptional tribunals and the diminution of the

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excise duties, and of aids. But of all these wise and legitimate demands not one was granted.

The discontented party, and Condé especially, offered an energetic opposition to the marriage of Louis XIII. with the Infanta of Spain, afterwards celebrated under the name of Anne of Austria, urging the necessity of crushing the House of Austria rather than adding to its strength. The queen treated these representations with contempt, and the marriage was resolved on. Condé immediately withdrew to Clermont in Beauvoisis, Bouillon to his principality of Sedan, Mayenne to Soissons, Longueville to Picardy. They no longer hoped for success save by force of arms and prepared for the conflict. The Protestants, excited to action by the Duke of Rohan, ranged themselves on their side, and began to levy troops. The principal ministers of the king were, at that time, the aged Villeroi, the President Jeannin, and the Chancellor of Sillery. They treated the above-mentioned hostile demonstrations with indifference, and hastened the conclusion of the marriage. Immediately afterwards the queen-mother entered into negotiations with the young king's enemies, and signed, in 1616, the Treaty of Loudun, the terms of which were entirely to their advantage. The prince and his adherents were declared innocent and good servants of the king, considerable sums of money were bestowed upon them and a certain measure of satisfaction was accorded to the Calvinists and the Parlement.

The old ministers were immediately dismissed. Du Plessis, Bishop of Luçon, afterwards the famous Cardinal Richelieu, entered the new council, which was under the chief direction of Condé, who speedily became all powerful, and made his power felt by Medici and her favorites, and especially so by Marshal d'Ancre. The queen-mother, who saw plainly that Condé sought to reduce her authority in the state to a nullity, and possibly aimed at the throne itself, caused the prince to be arrested in the name of the king, on September 1, 1616, as he was entering the council chamber. Orders had been given to seize his partisans, but they escaped and flew to arms.

Condé was shut up in the Bastile, and the queen sent into the field three armies against the insurgents, who had fled to Soissons. Concini reappeared at the court, more powerful than ever, inflated with the most unbounded pride, and so rich that he was able to maintain an army of five or six thousand men at his own expense.

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The young king, however, whose wishes he frequently thwarted, bore the tyranny of the marshal as impatiently as that of the prince, and resolved at length to release himself from his state of pupilage. He might have achieved this purpose by legal methods, but his dark, vindictive spirit preferred assassination. On Monday, April 26, 1617, as the marshal was entering the Louvre, to attend the council, Vitry, captain of the guards, stopped him and demanded his sword. Concini made a movement, but immediately fell, pierced by three balls, and expired on the spot. When informed of the great catastrophe, the insurgents, who had fled to Soissons, laid down their arms and gave themselves up to the king without making any terms, imputing to the Italian tyrant all the troubles and misfortunes of France. The late ministers, Villeroi, Sillery, Jeannin and Duvair, returned with them. The queen-mother was exiled from the court, and selected Blois as her place of residence. The able Du Plessis, who had been minister under Concini, demanded permission to follow her, apparently the devoted servant of a protectress of whom, at a later period, he was the most implacable enemy. He who had the greatest share in this revolution, and who profited by it the most, was the young Charles d'Albert of Luynes, the companion of the king's pleasures, who had risen rapidly in the royal favor. He was created a duke, overwhelmed with honors and riches, and became the possessor of all the late marshal's property, which had been confiscated, and all his power.

Condé, in the depths of his prison, and the queen, in the place of her exile, continued to plot and instigate their partisans, but the Duke of Luynes neutralized their influence by setting them one against the other. Now he menaced Condé with the recall of the queen to court, and now he threatened the queen that Condé should be set at liberty. A skillfully contrived conspiracy, however, speedily changed the whole aspect of affairs. By the aid of the Duke of Epernon the queen-mother escaped from the château of Blois, where she was kept under strict surveillance, and retired to Angoulême. When the count received information of the queen's escape, Luynes wished to pursue her immediately with an armed force, but the king preferred to temporize, and an able peacemaker presented himself in the person of Du Plessis, who, after having secretly obtained the king's consent, persuaded the queen to confide in him by the aid of the jealous D'Epernon himself, and a peace

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1619-1621

was in due course arranged by his exertions. The queen obtained the government of Anjou, with regal rights and three towns which were given her as places of safety. De Luynes, more a courtier than a statesman or soldier, was not equal to the work of maintaining order in France. The disturbance had scarcely subsided before it again arose; the partisans of the queen, or rather the enemies of the favorite, seized a number of places, and were speedily in possession of half the kingdom. The queen-mother at this time was at Angers, and Mayenne and D'Epernon, fearing a surprise, wished her to retire to Guienne. Du Plessis, however, who was secretly in the king's interest, resisted this measure, and the queen remained. Louis XIII. set out at the head of his army, and having first reduced Normandy, arrived before Angers with all his forces. An engagement took place at Pont-de-Cé between his troops and those of the queen, in which the latter were immediately routed. Peace was now concluded, and a reconciliation took place between Marie de' Medici and her son. The queen returned to Paris and Du Plessis received the promise of a cardinal's hat in return for his double treason. The king led his army into Bearn, where the revolt had found a certain number of partisans, and reëstablished in this province, by a solemn decree, the Catholic religion, which had been abolished by Jeanne d'Albret. Finally, he bestowed a parlement on Pau, and then returned to Paris, where he was received in triumph.

The reformed party in the kingdom became more and more disquieted by the manifest Catholic tendency of the government. At the general assembly of La Rochelle, in 1621, they distributed their seven hundred churches in eight circles, and drew up a species of constitution, in forty-seven articles, which regulated, under the king's authority, the levy of the taxes and the discipline of the troops, and which was, in fact, the creation of a distinct government in the bosom of the state. In 1621 Louis XIII. marched against them, and subdued Saintonge and Poitou. Rochelle was invested, and Montauban, defended by the Marquis of Force, resisted a siege which cost the Catholics the loss of eight thousand men and the Duke of Mayenne, the son of the famous chief of the league.

There was a universal outcry in France against the Duke of Luynes, to whom was attributed the blame of this reverse. In the course of this expedition the favorite had still further aggrandized

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his position, and had added to his numerous offices those of constable and keeper of the seals. He knew that if he would retain his influence with the king he must be everything; but he did not long enjoy his new dignities, for a fever carried him off in four days. The Protestant Lesdiguières, commander-in-chief of the royal army, became a convert to Catholicism, and was created constable. His conversion was the signal for numerous defections in the Protestant party. The Marquis of Force and the Count of Châtillon, Coligny's grandson, surrendered, the one Montauban and the other Aigues-Mortes, in return for large sums and marshals' batons. Rohan, however, remained incorruptible and desired peace, which was signed at Montpellier. The Edict of Nantes was confirmed, the king allowing the Protestants to assemble for the purposes of their worship, but prohibiting them to meet for political objects. Du Plessis, after the Peace of Montpellier, obtained the cardinal's hat, and henceforth became known under the celebrated name of Cardinal Richelieu, and was soon after made a member of the council. This able statesman soon obtained a great influence over the young king's mind by pointing out to him the vices of his government, the immense resources of France, and the secret of its strength, and ultimately became all-powerful, possessing the great art of rendering himself indispensable to the king, although the latter by no means liked him. Louis XIII., in fact, who dearly liked arbitrary power, but was incapable of compelling obedience, found in Richelieu the strength of mind in which he was deficient, and believed that, with his aid, he was an absolute monarch, while in reality he was a slave all his life.

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Chapter XI

RICHELIEU AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. 1624-1643

A GREAT change passed over France as soon as Richelieu seized with a firm hand the direction of affairs. The resolutions of the council, which the Spaniards, by the assistance of Anne of Austria, had hitherto always known, were now kept secret. The ambassadors were instructed to speak and act with boldness. The ambassadors from Rome having pointed out to the cardinal the various steps which he should take in his negotiations with that court, Richelieu replied, "The king is not willing to be trifled with; you will tell the Pope that an army will be sent into the Valtelline." This was the first step in the new path of French diplomacy. The Valtelline, a valley of the Tyrolean Alps, was important to Spain as a means of communication between the Tyrol and the Milanese territory. The people of this valley, who were Catholics, had been incited to revolt against the Protestant canton of the Grisons, to which they belonged, and forts had been raised to command its passage, which, in accordance with a convention with Spain, were garrisoned by Papal troops. The Marquis of Cœuvres, in pursuance of orders from Richelieu, arrived suddenly in the Valtelline with a body of troops, repulsed those of the Pontiff and rapidly took possession of the forts and all the strong places. The Spaniards avenged themselves by promising their support to the Calvinists, who complained that the conditions of the Peace of Montpellier had been ill observed. On this occasion they were the aggressors. Soubise, with a fleet, made a descent upon and seized the Isle of Rhé, and Rohan raised a revolt in Languedoc. Richelieu sent against them D'Epernon, Thémines, and Montmorency. The latter dispersed their fleet, Toiras wrested from them the Isle of Rhé, which was the defense of the port of Rochelle, and the minister granted a fresh peace to the vanquished.

The Valtelline war was then terminated by the Treaty of Moncon, in Aragon (1625), by which the Valtelline was restored to the

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Grisons. The two queens, Marie de' Medici and Anne of Austria, were in the highest degree jealous of Richelieu's influence over the king, and condemned his policy of hostility towards the Pope and Spain. Gaston, the king's brother, hated Richelieu because at first he had refused him any place or authority in the council; and the courtiers, from whom Richelieu withheld all access to the public treasury, overwhelmed him with insults and accusations. It was against this formidable league that the cardinal now had to contend. The soul of the conspiracy was its principal concocter, the young and imprudent Chalais, a passionate admirer of the Duchess of Chevreuse, one of the cardinal's enemies. With Gaston and Chalais were joined the Duke of Vendôme, governor of Brittany, the grand prior of Vendôme, his brother, both natural sons of Henry IV., the queen, and a multitude of inferior accomplices. The object of this league was to overthrow the minister, and those of whom it was composed were even accused of a desire to depose the king, crown Gaston in his stead, and marry the latter to Anne of Austria. Informed of this vast conspiracy, Richelieu made the king acquainted with its existence, and cunningly frightened him by a prospect of dangers which only threatened his own ministry. The feeble Gaston betrayed his accomplices. The brothers Vendôme were arrested and sent to the château of Amboise. Chalais, discovered to have been guilty, by his letters to the Duchess of Chevreuse, of having insulted the king, and giving seditious advice to Gaston, was condemned to death by a commission, and executed. The grand prior died at Amboise, while the Duke of Vendôme was only released from prison after having made all the confessions required of him. The queen was subjected to the observance of a severe system of etiquette, and the entrance of men into her apartments in the king's absence was strictly forbidden. A great number of nobles were disgraced and a guard of musqueteers was granted to the cardinal. Finally, Gaston, in return for the confessions which he made, and his consent to espouse Mlle. Bourbon of Montpensier, received the rich duchy of Orleans, in exchange for the duchy of Anjou, of which he had hitherto borne the title. The result of this great intrigue was to increase the power of the minister, who exercised the sovereign authority without any of those who possessed the great offices of the crown being able to counterbalance his authority. There was no longer any constable, that office having been abolished after the death of Lesdiguières,

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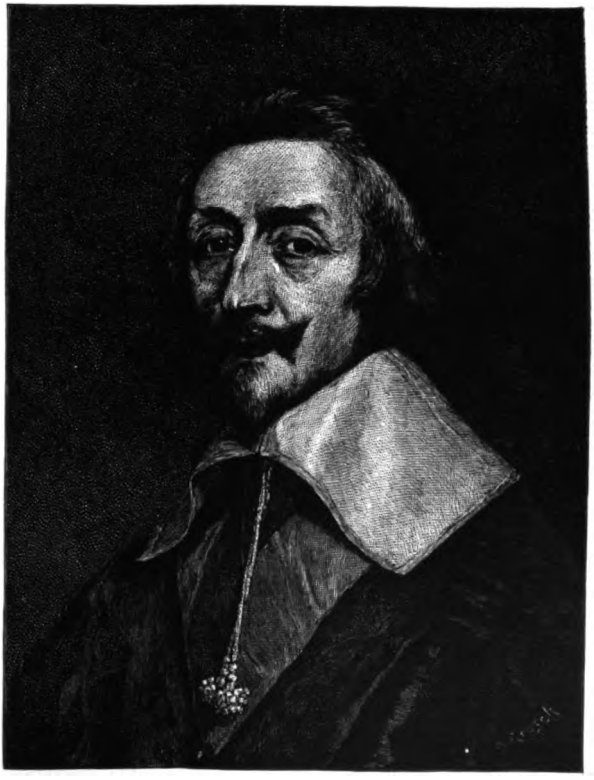

CARDINAL RICHELIEU
Painting by Phillippe de Champagne

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1626-1629

and that of grand admiral had been converted into a general superintendence of commerce and naval affairs, which Richelieu had adjudged to himself.

An assembly of notables, convoked in 1626, was opened at the Tuileries by the Chancellor Marillac, keeper of the seals. It sanctioned all the proceedings of the cardinal; further demanded that the national power should be supported by a standing army; that the commercial spirit and traffic with distant parts should be encouraged by the establishment of great companies, and that the classes engaged in peaceful pursuits should be protected against the outrages of the military. They finally voted with enthusiasm the equipment of two fleets, the one for the high seas, and the other for the Mediterranean—France at this period possessing only a few galleys. The notables separated in February, 1627, and a commission was immediately appointed to reduce to a code or body of laws the reforms promised either to the last assembly or to the Estates in 1614. Two years were devoted to this great work, and at length, in January, 1629, an ordinance was promulgated, consisting of 461 articles, which is one of the great monuments of old French legislation. This code met on many points the necessities of the period, but afforded no relaxation to the shackles of the municipal régime, which it subjected to one uniform rule for the whole kingdom. We here see that tendency to centralization which is doubtless useful when its action is limited to matters which properly come under the notice of the state, but which, when abused, has led France into excesses, and all the dangers of modern civilization.

Fresh conspiracies were speedily formed against Richelieu. Under pretense of the oppressions suffered by the Protestant churches, a rupture took place between France and England, and Buckingham, with a formidable fleet, descended, in 1627, upon the coasts of France. Many Calvinist leaders supported the invasion, but their rising cost them dear. The English had disembarked near Rochelle, in the Isle of Rhé, and attacked the citadel of Saint-Martin, but on the approach of Marshal Schomberg with numerous reinforcements, Buckingham set sail and abandoned his imprudent allies. The moment had now come for the cardinal to destroy a perpetual source of disturbance, and the Protestant party. In 1627 he laid siege to Rochelle, commanding the forces in person. The siege was a remarkable one for the courage and per-

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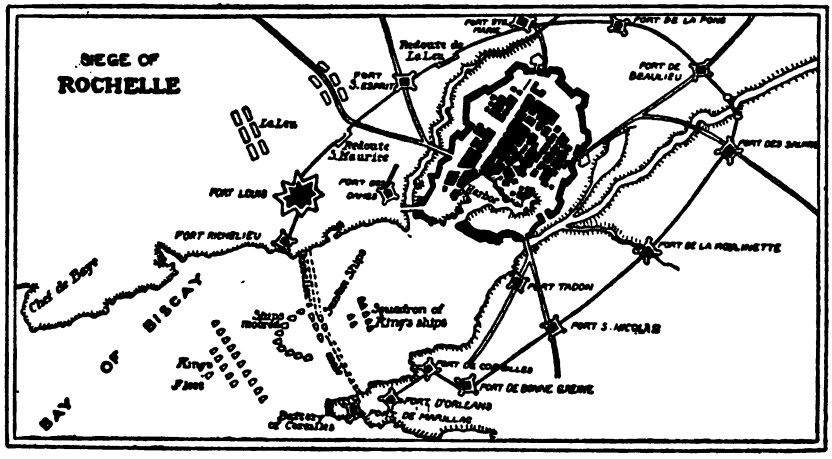
severance which were displayed on both sides. An attempt made by the English to relieve the besieged by an attack on the king's troops from the sea proved abortive, and at length, after an heroic defense of a year's duration, the Rochellois, driven to despair, consented to surrender. The result was that their town lost its privileges, but that they retained the right of worshiping according to their faith. France, delivered at length from the apprehension of civil war, now ardently desired peace. Richelieu, however, determined to carry out the projects of Henry IV. against Austria,



rendering France the first nation in Europe. A pretext for war was not long wanting.

Vicenzo di Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, died in 1627, and his cousin, Charles de Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, claimed to be heir of his states. But the emperor, the Spaniards, and the Duke of Savoy set up in opposition to him the Duke of Guastalla, a member of the elder branch of the Gonzaga family, and supported his pretended rights by the invasion of the two principalities. Richelieu pointed out to the king how much it was to the interest of France to assist a prince who was half French, and especially to counterbalance the influence of Austria in upper Italy. Louis XIII. arrived with his army in the depth of winter at the foot of the Alps, and having forced the pass or defile of Susa, and defeated the Piedmontese troops which held it, the Duke of Savoy, terrified, abandoned the Spaniards, and signed at Susa, in 1628, a

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1629-1631

treaty which secured to the Duke of Nevers the peaceable possession of Mantua and Montferrat. Louis XIII., on his return from Piedmont, fell rapidly upon the small number of strong places still possessed by the Protestants, and burned or destroyed those which still existed. Rohan now went into exile and peace was concluded on June 28, 1629, at Alais. The Protestants, however, still preserved the right of worshiping according to their own tenets, and all their privileges as established by the Edict of Nantes.

The flame of war was speedily relighted in Italy. The empire and Spain had refused to recognize the Treaty of Susa and the ambitious Duke of Savoy had hastened to support anew his former allies in their designs upon Mantua and Montferrat. His son, Victor Amadeus, husband of the Princess Christina, sister of Louis XIII., succeeded him in 1630, and adopted his policy. The presence in Piedmont of a French army and the conquest of Pignerol and other places from Victor Amadeus could not prevent the capture of Mantua. The capitulation of Casal speedily followed this catastrophe, but the signing of peace at the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1631, put an end to this war of succession. The emperor undertook to put the Duke of Nevers in possession of Mantua and Montferrat, and France promised to restore the conquests made at the expense of Victor Amadeus, and to form no alliance with the enemies of the empire. Various attempts were now made to destroy Richelieu's influence in the affairs of the country. The queen-mother, always hostile to the cardinal, and enraged at the results of the war in Piedmont undertaken against her son-in-law, Victor Amadeus, demanded of the king, with indignant tears, that he should disgrace the cardinal in her presence. Louis XIII., to put an end to this painful scene, ordered Richelieu to retire. The latter considered himself disgraced, but, encouraged by his friends, he determined, before departing, to make a final effort. He obtained an interview with the king, justified himself, received orders to remain in office, and, while his enemies were already triumphing over his fall, reappeared, more powerful than ever. The first act by which Richelieu attested his reëstablishment in power was the arrest of the two brothers Marillac—the one a marshal of France, the other the keeper of the seals—who had shown themselves his most bitter enemies. Before punishing them, however, Richelieu sought to abate or put an end to the hostility of his powerful foes, and overwhelmed with favors and promises the friends of Gaston of Or-

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leans, whose favor he thus sought to gain. But, urged on by the two queens, Gaston visited the minister at the head of a crowd of gentlemen, insulted him, and threatened him with the full weight of his vengeance. After this the prince retired to his appanage of Orleans and began to levy troops, but at the approach of the royal army he fled, without offering any resistance, and passed into Lorraine. It was not yet enough. So long as the queen-mother remained at the court Richelieu could never be sure of the morrow. Perceiving that he was sufficiently strong to make a daring stroke, he told the king that he must choose between his mother and himself. The king, cold of heart and feeble in mind, did not hesitate. Blinded with rage, the queen-mother withdrew into Spanish Flanders, in 1631, and never again reëntered France.

Richelieu adopted the most vigorous measures. All those who had hesitated between his party and that of the queen-mother were forced to quit the court and their offices: Marshal de Marillac was tried and condemned to death; his brother, the keeper of the seals, died in prison. The cardinal's vengence was still further signalized by numerous proscriptions; many of the nobles were condemned to lose their estates and their heads for having joined the Duke of Orleans and Marie de' Medici in foreign countries.

While Richelieu thus executed his vengeance the queen-mother and her emigrant son continued their intrigues, and Gaston, having become a widower, secretly married Princess Marguerite, sister of Duke Charles IV. of Lorraine. Finally he entered France and joined Marshal Duke of Montmorency, who had agreed to raise Languedoc, of which he was governor, in favor of Gaston. But Richelieu anticipated his enemies, and the Marshals Force and Schomberg entered Languedoc at the head of two royal armies at the moment when Gaston was effecting his junction with Montmorency. The hostile troops met near Castelnaudary in 1632. Montmorency was surrounded, captured, and carried away a prisoner under the very eyes of Gaston, who made no effort to rescue him, and whose whole army immediately disbanded itself. Richelieu never failed to regard Gaston as the heir-presumptive to the crown, and he made terms with him and permitted him to retire to Tours, where the prince arrived more disgraced by his cowardice than by his rebellion. Montmorency was condemned to death and executed, a crowd of others lost their heads on the scaffold, and Gaston, terrified at the cardinal's rigor, once more quitted France. The king, on being

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informed of his brother's marriage, refused to sanction it, and invaded Lorraine with a demand that Charles IV. should give his sister into his hands. The latter, however, escaped and joined her husband at Brussels. In 1632 the whole of Lorraine was overrun, and Nancy fell into the hands of the French. The unfortunate Duke Charles abdicated in favor of Cardinal Nicolas Francis, his brother, who hastened, without consulting Rome, to lay aside the hat, and to marry his cousin Claude. Soon afterwards he retired from Lorraine with his wife, abandoning his states to the French king, who everywhere established garrisons, pending the surrender of the Princess Marguerite. While Louis XIII. thus endeavored to annul this alliance by force the Parlement of Paris, to whom he had referred the matter, declared Gaston's marriage void, while Richelieu endeavored, but in vain, to obtain from the prince, who had returned to the French court, an avowal that his marriage was illegal. This Gaston absolutely refused to do, but an event occurred three years afterwards which reduced him to a secondary position. A reconciliation had taken place between Louis XIII. and the queen, who had long lived apart from him, and on September 5, 1638, Anne gave birth to a son, who became Louis XIV.

At the period when the reins of government passed thus to a king in a perpetual state of pupilage, from Concini to De Luynes, and from the latter to Richelieu, in whose hands they remained, great events, in which France had not as yet interfered, were taking place in Germany. The Emperor Matthias, having no children, had chosen as his successor his cousin-german, Ferdinand of Styria, grandson of Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V., and had had him elected King of Bohemia in his lifetime. This prince attempted to deprive the Protestant Bohemians of liberty of conscience, for which they took up arms against him.

In the meantime Matthias died, and Ferdinand, besieged in Vienna by the victorious Bohemians, could hardly keep possession of the crown. The diet of the empire, however, elected Ferdinand, who was proclaimed emperor at Frankfort, on August 28, 1619. On this the Bohemian states offered their crown to the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., son-in-law of James I. of England, and nephew of the stadtholder of Holland. Frederick, in a bloody battle fought on the White Mountain, near Prague, lost not only his new crown, but also his hereditary states. Emboldened by this success, the emperor carried war into the Palatine, and threatened

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to extripate Protestantism throughout the whole of Germany. To save its liberties, the Lower Saxon Circle, in 1625, under the leadership of Christian IV., King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein, prepared to resist the imperial armies. Then commenced the second period of the Thirty Years' War, called the Danish period. It was no less fatal than the first to the Protestant cause, for Christian, vanquished by the celebrated imperial generals, Tilly and Wallenstein, was compelled to sign the humiliating Peace of Lubeck in 1629. The whole of Protestant Germany was under the yoke, and the cause of liberty of conscience seemed in desperate straits. Then, in 1630, assembled the imperial Diet of Ratisbon to discuss the great questions which for twenty years had agitated the German empire. Now there came a check to the fortunes of the House of Austria. The Catholic electors, alarmed at the growing power of Wallenstein, demanded his dismissal. It was at Ratisbon, also, that was regulated the succession of Mantua, which the emperor had pretended to dispose of as an imperial fief. This was the second step which France took in its interference with the affairs of the empire; the first being the occupation of the Valtelline.

Richelieu saw with disquiet the progress of the House of Austria, but the time was not yet come for France openly to interfere. He contented himself with promising as a subsidy 1,200,000 livres a year to the young King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, towards whom the eyes of all Protestant Europe were now turned. Victorious at Leipsic in 1631, and again at the passage of the Lech, where Tilly lost his life, he prepared to strike a final blow by attacking Ferdinand in his capital. The emperor, in terror, then recalled Wallenstein, whom he had disgraced, and the two rivals encountered each other at Lützen in 1632. Gustavus was the victor, but died on the field of battle, leaving the command to Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. The latter, however, after great successes, lost, in 1634, the decisive battle of Nördlingen against the Archduke Ferdinand, the emperor's eldest son. The conquests of Gustavus Adolphus were nullified and the House of Austria, which had been kept in check by the successes alike of the great Swedish king and of the hero of Weimar, began to raise its head anew. The emperor, Ferdinand II., pursued the war with untiring energy and perseverance. He was now relieved from his chief opponents, and became once more all-powerful. Here ends the Swedish period of the Thirty Years' War and commences the fourth and last epoch, to

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which has been given the name of the French period. Richelieu made the greatest efforts to secure the success of his military plans. He formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland and Sweden, and signed, at the same time, fresh treaties with the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua, and Parma, among whom he promised to divide the Milanese territory. His plans for war embraced at once Flanders, the Rhine, the Valtelline, and Italy, and he formed four armies, intended to act simultaneously on all those points. Believing himself to be as great a general as he was a statesman, the cardinal resolved to direct from his cabinet all the movements of the armies in the field. The army of the north, under Marshals Chatillon and Brezé, was to join in Luxembourg that of the Estates-General of Holland, for the purpose of driving out of Belgium the Spaniards, commanded by Prince Thomas of Carignan. This prince was defeated in the plain of Avennes by the French, who effected their junction with the Dutch, commanded by the Prince of Orange, before Maëstricht. The united army gave itself up to the most frightful excesses. The sack of Tirlemont roused the Belgians against the French. They ran to arms, and thus gave time for the arrival of the imperial army, under Piccolomini, who forced the invaders to raise the siege of Louvain and remain in a state of inaction till the end of the campaign. The Franco-Swedish army of Germany divided into several corps, under the command of Marshal Force and Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, was opposed to the imperial troops led by Duke Charles of Lorraine and the celebrated Gallas, who blockaded a portion of Bernard's army in Mayence and held that general himself in check at Sarrebrück. Duke Bernard was relieved by a second French army, which was obliged through famine and disease to fall back on Metz. A third force under the king occupied Lorraine, and this and what remained of the other two armies, acting upon the frontier of the Rhine, covered Champagne and Lorraine, now threatened by the imperialists. In Italy the French army, under the command of Marsh Crequi, having failed in its attack on Frascorolo, had been compelled to raise the siege of Valanza, and Crequi retreated towards France, abandoning the allies of France, the Dukes of Savoy, Parma, and Mantua, whose states were immediately invaded. The French arms were only sucessful in the Valtelline, where the Duke of Rohan succeeded in cutting off all communication between the imperial troops of Lombardy and Austria. Victorious at Morbegno, he repulsed

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Ferramont in the Tyrol, and then drove Serbelloni and the Spaniards from the Valtelline, after the glorious battle of the Val de Presle. At this point only was the campaign of 1635 honorable for France.

Richelieu entered upon the following campaign with as many armies as he had in the preceding one, and suffered great reverses. In 1636 the imperialist generals, the cardinal-infant, brother of the King of Spain, Piccolomini, and John der Werth, a Bavarian, entered France at the head of forty thousand men. The line of the Somme was forced; Corbie, the last strong place on this frontier, fell into the hands of the imperialists, while a second army, under Gallas and the Duke of Lorraine, entered Burgundy. Terror reigned in Paris, and the popular fury was directed against the cardinal, who was accused of all the ills of France. But the latter, superior to fear, called to arms the nobility and the various trading bodies for the defense of the kingdom, and at the end of a month an army of forty thousand men marched to drive the enemy from France. The imperial generals did not await the onslaught, but hastened to recross the frontier. All the fortresses of Picardy were retaken by the French, the progress of the invasion in Burgundy was checked, the Spaniards who attempted an invasion of the southern provinces were beaten back, and French soil was delivered from foreign invaders. In Italy a bloody victory obtained by Marshal Crequi and the Duke of Savoy over the imperialists near Lake Maggiore had no result.

The following year, 1637, was distinguished by the death of several of the sovereigns engaged in the war. The Emperor Ferdinand II. died after having had the King of Hungary, his son, elected as his successor, and France lost its two Italian allies, the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy. The only important military fact of this campaign was the evacuation by the Duke of Rohan of the Valtelline, whence he was driven by the old allies of France, the Grisons, who had now turned against her.

The war was continued in 1638 with results unfavorable to France. In the north it was found necessary to raise the siege of Saint-Omer, and on the Spanish frontier the French were forced to abandon the siege of Fontarabia. The victory obtained on the Rhine by Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar alone compensated for so many disasters. Compelled by John of Werth to raise the siege of Rhinefeld, he suddenly reappeared, cut the imperialists to pieces,

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and took John of Werth and three other generals prisoners. In the year following this able general died, and the command of his army was given to the Duke of Longueville, who carried on the campaign during two years beyond the Rhine without any decided success, and at the same time without any disgrace. In 1639 the success on the side of the French was confined to the capture of Hesdin, while Piccolomini vanquished, near Thionville, another French army under Feuquières. Thus ended in the north the campaign of 1639. In Piedmont, where Cardinal Maurice and Thomas, Prince of Carignan, brothers of the late duke, with the support of the King of Spain, disputed the regency with his widow, Christine, daughter of Henry IV., Henry of Lorraine, Count of Harcourt, victualled Casal, then besieged by Spaniards. He effected in admirable order a difficult retreat from Chiari to Carignan, in the presence of the much larger armies of Spain in Piedmont, and was victorious at the battle of La Rotta.

The principal belligerent powers, France, the empire, and Spain, reaped no fruits from this disastrous war. The two kingdoms were exhausted, and in each there occurred simultaneously a popular outbreak, which led to very different results. During the last years the taxes in France had been raised to a hundred millions, which was double the amount levied in the time of Henry IV. The burden of taxation had become intolerable. The poll-tax, especially, was levied upon the peasants with frightful rigor. After paying for themselves, those who were better off than their neighbors were forced to pay the taxes of those who were unable to do so. At last, driven to despair, many of the inhabitants of lower Normandy took up arms and entrenched themselves on the slopes of Avranches. Foreign troops, under Colonel Gassion, drowned this insurrection in the blood of the insurgents. The parlement of Normandy was suspended, all franchises suppressed, and an enormous sum levied on the city of Rouen. The revolts in Spain were more serious. Catalonia, with its annexed districts of Roussillon and Cerdagne, formed a province almost independent of the Spanish monarchy. Treated harshly by Olivarez, the Catalans rose in insurrection, in 1640, and gave themselves to the crown of France. The Portuguese also, enslaved by Spain for sixty years, threw off the detested yoke. John of Braganza, descendent of their ancient monarchs, was elected king, and he hastened to ally himself with France and Holland against Spain.

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The war continued in Germany, but the two principal scenes of military operations, in 1640, were Artois and Piedmont. A numerous army assembled in Picardy under the three marshals, La Meilleraye, Châtillon, and Chaulnes, entered Artois and invested Arras, which capitulated, after the cardinal-infant had made fruitless attempts to force the French lines and to drive back the besieging forces. The campaign of Piedmont was still more glorious to the French arms. The Count of Harcourt forced the Spaniards and Piedmontese to raise the siege of Casale, and then, advancing rapidly and boldly upon Turin, he invested it. An attempt to relieve the city ended in the defeat of the Spanish General Léganez and the capitulation of Prince Thomas of Carignan. In the campaign of 1641 France retained the advantages acquired during the preceding one in Artois and in Piedmont. Guébriant, the colleague of the Duke of Longueville, vanquished Piccolomini at Wolfenbüttel and Lamboi at Kempen, and all Saxony was reduced to subjection. In 1642 Richelieu resolved to strike at the very heart of Austria's power. The invasion of Spain was decided on and the royal army poured towards the Pyrenees. Before crossing the mountains, however, it was important to complete the conquest of Roussillon, and Perpignan was besieged.

Spain exhausted herself in her endeavors to save this place, but she was vanquished both by land and sea, and after an heroic resistance of four months the governor capitulated on September 9, 1642. The battle of Lerida, in the same year, in which the Spanish General Léganez was beaten by Lamothe-Houdancourt, completed the conquest of Roussillon, which henceforth formed a portion of the kingdom of France. Louis XIII. and his minister survived the victory but a short time.

During the campaign of Roussillon a final and bloody catastrophe raised Richelieu's power and the terror inspired by his name to their greatest height. The cardinal had placed near the king the young Effiat, Marquis of Cinq-Mars, twenty-one years of age. This young man, appointed master of the horse, made rapid progress in the good graces of the sovereign, and, discovering the king's antipathy for the cardinal, conceived the hope of overthrowing him. With this object he allied himself with the queen, with Gaston of Orleans, and the Duke of Bouillon, who always flattered himself that he should one day replace Richelieu. The cardinal allowed the imprudent Cinq-Mars and his accomplices to implicate them-

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selves with the Spanish minister Olivarez. He became possessed at length of the copy of a treaty of alliance between the Spaniards and the conspirators and sent it to Louis. Cinq-Mars was immediately seized, together with the young De Thou, his friend and confidant, but not his accomplice. A commission was opened to try them. The crime of Cinq-Mars was not proved, but the cowardly confessions of the Duke of Orleans destroyed him. Cinq-Mars was condemned to death and executed (1642) with the young De Thou, who was guilty of not having denounced his friend. The Duke of Bouillon, who had been arrested, lost his principality, but obtained his pardon in exchange. Gaston of Orleans obtained permission to live at Blois in privacy.

The queen-mother died in indigence at Cologne, and Richelieu followed her shortly afterwards to the tomb (1642). His eyes had scarcely been closed when the king at once abandoned the course pursued by the cardinal. The prisons were thrown open and banishments ceased. Vendôme, Elbœuf, Bassompierre, and Guise reappeared at court, and preluded by empty quarrels the storms which were to disturb the reign about to commence. Louis XIII., in fact, only survived his famous minister six months, and died at Château-Neuf, Saint Germain, in 1643, at forty-two years of age. A few days before expiring he had nominated Anne of Austria regent, and Gaston, his brother, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, joining with them a council of regency, under the presidency of Condé.

The results of Richelieu's life, whereon he stands for the judgment of posterity, are chiefly these: abroad, though a cardinal of the church, he arrested the Catholic reaction, freed northern from southern Europe, and made toleration possible; at home, out of the broken fragments of her liberties and her national prosperity, he paved the way for the glory of France. Those who worship strength and success will admire a man who, moving on his high course with resolute step, seems unconscious of human infirmities, of pity, of humanity. Yet if we count the love of our fellow-man as the first quality of a great character, or think that land happiest in which the liberties of the subject are steadily and surely built up from age to age, then we shall condemn the strong man armed, who gave no thought to his oppressed and laboring countrymen, and made constitutional life impossible for France. It may well be that this did not present itself to Richelieu's mind; he probably never told himself that his policy was based on the

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ruin of the French liberties. The troubles of the sixteenth century, and the peculiar aptitudes of the French people, may even have led him to believe it impossible to do otherwise than as he did. Yet, as we watch his career, we see one after another the elements of constitutional life disappearing: the law courts or parlements resist in vain, and are reduced to impotence; the church becomes subservient; the Huguenot cities, which might have formed the nucleus of a living public opinion, are crushed into silence; the independence of the noble goes; the Estates-General are not convoked; the imposts are levied at the king's pleasure; the people overwhelmed with taxes and rewarded with neglect. It may be that Richelieu did but carry out tendencies long rooted in French soil, did but push one step farther that absolute and irresponsible monarchy which had already been seen and approved by France under Francis I. and Henry IV. It may be so; yet to have systematized absolutism, to have formulated the terrible dogma that taxation is the affair of the king alone, and depends solely on his will, to have trampled out the last fires of French liberty, to have given a final form to that despotism which for a hundred and fifty years had France at its feet, can never be called the work of a true patriot or of a great statesman.

And, indeed, Richelieu was a politician rather than a statesman; his mind, singularly acute and intelligent, was neither deep nor broad; ambition for his country, a desire to raise her among the nations, a consciousness that unity would bring her strength, these were the ideas which ennobled his career. These give harmony to his life: his marvellous tenacity of purpose, his patience, fearlessness, sleeplesseness in use of any means to win his ends. All these qualities were bent on one object—the abasement of Austria, the exaltation of France. For this he lived, defending with one hand his hard-won and precarious footing at home, while with the other hand he guided negotiations or led armies abroad against the strong foes who in 1628 had seemed to be almost absolute masters of Europe.

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PART III

ABSOLUTE MONARCHY. 1643-1774

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Chapter XII

LOUIS XIV. AND THE SUPREMACY OF FRANCE IN EUROPE. 1643-1683

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Louis XIII. Anne of Austria applied to the Parlement of Paris to dissolve the council of regency. Her request was granted, and she was recognized as absolute regent and acknowledged to be at liberty to compose her council as she chose.

Cardinal Mazarin, who was a member of the council of regency, was of opinion that it ought to be dissolved. The queen rewarded his devotion by making him her first minister, and bestowed all her confidence on him. France now enjoyed peace, as far as domestic affairs were concerned, for three years. The war with the empire and Spain continued, however, on all her frontiers. Louis of Bourbon, Duke of Enghien, so celebrated under the name of the great Condé, had gained in Flanders, five days after the death of Louis XIII. (1643), the battle of Rocroi, over the Spaniards. The important capture of Thionville was quickly followed by the defeat of the French under the Count of Rantzau, at Tuttlingen, by the Duke of Lorraine and the two illustrious generals, John of Werth and Mercy. Brilliant successes, however, atoned for this reverse. Enghein, with Turenne under his orders, vanquished Mercy at Freiburg. In the following year he marched to the assistance of Turenne, who had been surprised and beaten at Marienthal, and gained the battle of Nördlingen (1644). The death of Mercy decided the victory. In Flanders the Duke of Orleans, the king's uncle, aided by Marshal Gassion, had seized Gravelines and Courtray and taken Mardick in the presence of an enemy's army. On the sea, also, the French arms had been successful. Twenty of their galleys had vanquished, in 1646, the Spanish fleet on the coast of Italy, and in the same year the Duke of Enghien, assisted by the celebrated Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, gave Dunkirk to France. He then set sail for Spain, where he met with a repulse before Lerida, the siege of which he was forced to raise.

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The years 1647 and 1648 were fatal to the House of Austria. Turenne, with the assistance of the Swedes, gained the battle of Sommerhausen; General Wrangel took Little Prague, and the battle of Lens terminated the war. This battle was fought by the Duke of Enghien, now Prince of Condé, in 1648, against the Archduke Leopold, the emperor's brother. Broken down by so many reverses, Ferdinand III. consented to negotiate, and peace was at length signed, in 1648, at Münster in Westphalia. By this peace it was agreed that France should retain a great part of Alsace, the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, and the two fortresses of Philipsburg and Pignerol, the keys of Germany and Piedmont. The Peace of Westphalia put an end to the Thirty Years' War in Germany, but Spain refused to accede to it, and the war continued between that country and France.

At the time when the celebrated peace was signed the interior of the kingdom was much disturbed. Mazarin, having become all-powerful, had roused against himself an almost universal hatred and indignation. Ridiculous by his accent and his manners and odious as a stranger, he was the object of numerous cabals. He wished, in common with Richelieu, that the royal power should be absolute, and his despotism excited as much hatred as did that of his predecessor. In addition to other arbitrary acts Mazarin desired to keep back four years' salaries from the members of all the sovereign courts, with the exception of the Parlement of Paris, and he threatened to abolish the law which secured to the families of magistrates the possession of their offices in perpetuity. This arbitrary proceeding aroused a universal clamor, and the Parlement assembled and passed the celebrated Edict of Union, in accordance with which two councilors chosen from each of its chambers were to confer with deputies from the other bodies in the common interest of all. Mazarin declared that such a decree was an attack on the rights of the crown, and Anne of Austria wished to inflict immediate punishment on all those who had signed it. The chamber of St. Louis voted twenty-seven articles, which were to be submitted for the approbation of the Parlement and the sanction of the regent. Of these, some secured the payment of their bonds on the Hôtel de Ville, relieved commerce of odious monopolies, and reduced by one-fourth the odious tax of the *taille,* which only fell on the humbler classes; while others prohibited, on pain of death, the levying of any tax save by verified edicts sanctioned by the sovereign courts,

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and declared that none of the king's subjects should be in custody more than twenty-four hours without being interrogated and brought before a proper judge. The propositions of the chamber of Saint Louis were practically the bases of a national constitution, and the citizen classes received them with enthusiasm. The people saw its own cause in that of the magistrates who had adopted them, and the Parlement deliberated upon them in spite of the prohibition of the regent, who called these articles so many attempts at assassination of the royal authority. The court, the army, and the multitude were now divided into two factions, that of the Mazarins and that of the Frondeurs, or partisans of the Parlement. Among those who were the most eager in supporting the Parlement was the famous Paul of Gondi, coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris, and at a later period known by the name of Cardinal of Retz, an able man, who was especially ambitious of being at the head of a party. His magnificent charities had long before gained him the heart of the people. At the commencement of the political disturbances he had offered his support to the regent, who had the imprudence to despise it, and he immediately passed over to the parliamentary side.

The arrest of the three most obnoxious members of the Parlement, the presidents, Charton and Blancmenil, and the councilor, Broussel, was carried out by order of Anne of Austria in the midst of the rejoicings for the celebrated victory of Condé at Lens. The first escaped, but the two others were arrested. The fact soon became widely known. The people rose, barricades were erected, the carriage of the cardinal was pursued, and the soldiers were massacred, amidst cries of "Broussel and liberty!" The Parlement proceeded in a body to the Palais Royal, energetically represented to the queen the danger which she incurred, and, supported by Mazarin, obtained the freedom of the two magistrates. Mazarin saw very clearly that moderation was necessary, and, guided by his advice, Anne of Austria dissimulated, and sanctioned on October 24, 1648, in a celebrated declaration, the greater number of the articles of the chamber of Saint Louis. On the same day peace was signed with the empire at Münster. Spain alone remained at war with France. A certain number of regiments were immediately recalled from Flanders to the environs of the capital. In consequence of a quarrel with the Duke of Orleans the Prince of Condé had joined the party of Mazarin, whom he detested, and promised him his support, and Anne of Austria now believed herself

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to be able to crush her enemies. Accompanied by the cardinal, she suddenly quitted Paris for Saint Germains, where she denounced the magistrates of the Parlement as guilty of a conspiracy against the royal authority, and of being in league with the enemies of the state, and moved troops upon the capital. The Parlement, on its side, raised money and soldiers, and published a decree which declared Mazarin to be a disturber of the public peace and ordered him to quit the kingdom within eight days. This was the commencement of civil war. Condé commanded the royal army. The greater number of the princes and greater lords of the kingdom, as Conti, Longueville, Nemours, Beaufort, Elbœuf, and Bouillon, embraced the cause of the magistracy. Turenne declared himself for the Parlement against the court, but after having endeavored, without success, to raise an army against Anne of Austria, he fled from France and joined the Spaniards. A first compromise took place without any decisive result to the advantage of the Parlement. The queen and the cardinal having reëntered Paris, found themselves insulted by frightful libels. They left it once more, with the young king, and determined to blockade it and to reduce it by famine. Condé directed the military operations against Paris, and Mazarin sent to the Parlement a *lettre de cachet* which banished it to Montargis. The Parlement replied by a decree which declared Mazarin an enemy to the king and the state, and again ordered him to quit the kingdom within eight days. Already, however, the Parisians were weary of war and hunger. The civil troubles proved advantageous to the Spaniards, who were in league with the Fronde, and the parties made peace at Ruel on March 11, 1649, which satisfied no one. The Parlement remained at liberty to assemble and the queen retained her minister.

Condé, presuming on his great services, became insupportable to the queen in his pride and exaggerated pretensions. The Frondeurs vainly sought to attach him to themselves. He despised them, and commenced a process against the coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort, and Broussel, whom he accused of having attempted to murder him. Mazarin effected a reconciliation with the coadjutor, and chose the moment when Condé had rendered himself as hateful to the Fronde as himself to crush him. Having been enticed to the Palais Royal on January 18, 1650, under the pretense of the holding of a council, he was arrested with his brother, the Prince Conti, and his brother-in-law, the Duke of Longueville, and sent

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to Havre. The Duchess of Longueville proceeded to Stenay, to Turenne, whom she once more roused against the court. This great man, allied with the Spaniards, was beaten at Rethel by Duplessis-Praslin. The young Princess of Condé, assisted by the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucauld, entered Bordeaux, which she induced to revolt, and raised the whole province. Mazarin proceeded thither with Anne of Austria and the young king. The rebellion was suppressed, but Bordeaux remained attached to the princes. In the cardinal's absence fresh plots were contrived against him, and when he returned to Paris he found a formidable league ready in arms. The people received him with murmurs. The Parlement, at the instigation of the coadjutor, demanded the freedom of the captive princes, and the Duke of Orleans demanded the banishment of Mazarin. The cardinal bowed before the storm. Quitting Paris, he proceeded to Havre, where he set free the princes, who treated him with contempt. Banished forever by the Parlement, he sought refuge with the Elector of Cologne, at Brühl, whence he continued to govern the queen and the state. The enemies of Mazarin soon ceased to be friends with each other. Condé controlled the Parlement, and offended the queen by his pride and suspicions. He reproached her for retaining as her ministers Le Tellier, Lyonne and Fouquet, creatures of the cardinal, and demanded their dismissal. Anne of Austria, thoroughly enraged, sent for the coadjutor, and entreated him in the most urgent manner to employ his influence in favor of Mazarin against the prince. Gondi, a mortal enemy of the cardinal, resisted all the queen's appeals in behalf of her favorite, but he promised to remove Condé. The two rivals for power presented themselves at the Parlement on August 21, each accompanied by a numerous troop of armed partisans. Threats were exchanged, thousands of swords and daggers were drawn in the precincts of the palace, and the coadjutor was on the point of being assassinated. The Parlement pronounced in his favor, and Condé, finding the queen, the Fronde and the people all against him, quitted Paris and proceeded to Guienne, where, in concert with Spain, he prepared for war. Almost all the provinces beyond the Loire, Guienne, Poitou, Saintongue and Angoumois, declared in his favor. Anne of Austria now once more left Paris, in order to reduce the revolted provinces to obedience. Having reached Bruges, she dispatched to the Parlement an edict, which declared Condé a rebel and traitor to the king and France, and which the Parlement

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sanctioned. At this juncture (1652), in obedience to the wishes of Anne of Austria, the cardinal returned to France accompanied by an army of seven or eight thousand men, whose officers wore his colors, and who were commanded by Marshal Hocquincourt. The coadjutor immediately perceived the fault which he had committed in permitting the court to remove from Paris, and raised the people against the partisans of Mazarin and the queen. The Parlement put a price on Mazarin's head, but he continued his march to join the court at Poictiers, and the king received him with every distinction. Anne of Austria eagerly replaced in his hands the burden of public affairs, and he returned to be more powerful than ever.

Gaston of Orleans again declared against the regent, effected a reconciliation with Condé, then in Guienne, and joined to the troops of that prince, which were commanded in his absence by the Duke of Nemours, all those at his own disposal.

Nemours, at the head of an army of twelve thousand French, Germans and Spaniards, marched upon Guienne, in 1652, which Condé at that time defended against Harcourt, while Anne of Austria, with the object of reëntering Paris, approached Orleans. Mademoiselle of Montpensier, however, sent by Gaston of Orleans, her father, to defend this place, persuaded the citizens to close the gates of the city against the king.

The royal army, under the command of Turenne, who had come over to the queen's party, and Hocquincourt, ascended the Loire and crossed it at Gien, in the environs of Bleneau, almost in the face of the rebels, who were commanded by Nemours and Beaufort. Marshal Hocquincourt, contrary to the advice of Turenne, divided his troops among several villages around Bleneau (1653). Turenne took up his quarters and entrenched himself at Gien, where were the court and the king. Suddenly, in the middle of the night, a furious attack was made upon the royal army, the villages were set on fire, and five of Marshal Hocquincourt's positions were carried in succession. This was done by Condé, who had arrived unexpectedly and assumed the command of the rebels. He carried Bleneau and marched upon Gien, but Turenne awaited him there so skillfully posted that Condé found his progress stopped. Turenne had torn from him the prize of his victory, and had saved the king and army. The court gained Lens and established itself in the environs of the capital.

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1653

Condé followed the royal army, and braving the decree of the Parlement which condemned him, entered the city with his principal officers, Beaufort, Nemours, and La Rochefoucauld, and prepared to defend it against the king. At the approach, however, of the troops of Marshal de la Ferté, who sought to effect a junction with Turenne, encamped at Saint-Denis, Condé endeavored to retreat upon Conflans by skirting the walls of Paris, unobserved by the royal army. Turenne, however, perceived the movement, and falling with his forces on the prince's troops, gave him battle in the suburb of Saint-Antoine. A desperate conflict ensued. Condé, whose troops were much inferior in number, was about to suffer defeat, when the populace, harangued by Mademoiselle, the daughter of Gaston, rose in favor of the prince. The gates of the city were opened and the prince's army was saved. Paris now became the scene of frightful disorders. The two princes excited the populace against the council, which was adverse to them. The people besieged the Hôtel de Ville and prepared to set it on fire. Many magistrates issued forth in terror and were slain. Anarchy and terror reached their height. The princes made Broussel provost of the merchants, and the Duke of Beaufort governor of Paris. The famous coadjutor, Paul of Gondi, always hostile to the Prince of Condé, put the archbishopric in a state of defense. The magistrates whom self-interest or fear made submissive to the princes, proclaimed Gaston lieutenant-general of the kingdom, until the expulsion of the cardinal, and Condé generalissimo of the forces. The king annulled this decree, and ordered the Parlement to transfer itself to Poictiers. Many members obeyed this order and went there, where they were presided over by Molé. Each army, therefore, was not supported by a parlement, as in the time of the league. The two parties were weary of this disastrous war, and as Mazarin seemed to be the only obstacle to the conclusion of a peace, the regent, yielding to the persuasions of the wiser of her party, at length consented to dismiss him, and he retired to Sedan. The people of Paris received the news of the cardinal's dismissal with enthusiastic delight. Condé was forced to quit the capital, and proceeded to ally himself with Spain. The coadjutor visited the king, received the red hat, and arranged the royal return to Paris, which Louis XIV. reëntered on October 21, 1653, amidst the acclamations of the people. The king banished from the capital the Duke of Orleans and the leaders of the revolt. The

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coadjutor, henceforth known as Cardinal of Retz, almost alone opposed the return of Cardinal Mazarin. Discontented with the court, he meditated a fresh attack against it, but Anne of Austria anticipated him by having him arrested and lodged in Vincennes.

The Spaniards had profited by the civil troubles in France. Gravelines, Mardick and Dunkirk had fallen into their hands and Condé advanced at the head of an army. Turenne, at the head of a smaller number of troops, checked his march. Anne of Austria, thereupon, recalled Mazarin to Paris, where she received him with transport, and the fickle populace with joyous acclamations (1653). The cardinal assumed an absolute authority and subjected the revolted provinces of Bordeaux and Guienne. He triumphed over all his enemies, had Condé condemned to death by the Parlement and gave one of his nieces in marriage to the Prince of Conti. Monsieur remained at Blois in retirement. The Cardinal of Retz, after having been transferred from Vincennes to the castle of Nantes, succeeded in escaping, and quitted the kingdom. Thus terminated the war of the Fronde. Condé alone still kept the field and Louis XIV. made his first campaign against him in Picardy under the guise of Turenne. The issue was successful, for Turenne attacked the enemy's lines before Arras, carried them, and obliged Condé to raise the siege of that place. That able general, however, continued to maintain himself in arms, and in 1657, when Turenne commenced a fresh campaign in Flanders, in which he took the offensive, he was compelled by Condé to raise the siege of Valenciennes. France and Spain at this time contended with each other for the alliance of England, now become a republic, and governed by Cromwell as lord protector. He put a price on its alliance, and Mazarin carried it off from Philip IV. by promising, in 1656, to deliver Dunkirk to the English, if this place should be retaken by France, and to abandon the cause of the two sons of Charles I., who were both, through their mother, grandchildren of Henry IV., and who passed from the camp of Turenne to that of Condé. On these conditions Cromwell furnished the French with a fleet and six thousand troops. Flanders was still the theater of war and the Battle of the Dunes (1658), in which Turenne triumphed over his illustrious rival, caused Dunkirk to fall into the hands of the victor, who immediately transferred it to the English. This victory, followed by the cap-

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ture of a great number of towns and fortresses, decided Philip IV. in favor of peace, which was signed on November 7, 1659. This peace, known as the Peace of the Pyrenees, was the most useful and memorable act of Mazarin's life. By it Philip IV. confirmed the cession of Pignerol, and a great portion of Artois and Alsace to France, which restored Lorraine, but retained the duchy of Bar, Roussillon and Cerdagne, up to the foot of the Pyrenees, and many towns in Luxembourg. It was stipulated that Condé should submit to the king, with the assurance of a pardon and the government of Burgundy, and that Louis XIV. should espouse Maria Theresa, the daughter of Philip IV. Europe was now at peace, and France had arrived at the moment when Louis XIV. was to take the reins of government into his own hands. Mazarin, for so many years the absolute ruler of the kingdom, was drawing near the close of his life. He died on March 9, 1661, and the monarch of twenty years of age announced on the day following the death of his minister, in whose hands was henceforth to be the chief authority.

Harlay de Chanvallon, president of the council of the clergy, having asked him to whom he was now to apply with reference to affairs of state, Louis XIV. replied, "To me." From this moment he became the sole ruler of France, and continued to be so till his death.

The first acts of Louis XIV. revealed the jealousy he entertained with respect to his authority, and his determination to retain it exclusively in his own hands. In accordance with the advice given him by Mazarin, he declared, in the first place, that he would have no prime minister. His council, formed by the cardinal, consisted of the Chancellor Segur, keeper of the seals; Le Tellier, minister of war; Lyonne, minister of foreign affairs, and Fouquet, minister of finance. It was not long, however, that Fouquet held office, for the king, convinced by Colbert of his criminal exactions, caused him to be arrested at Nantes and tried before a tribunal appointed for the purpose. The punishment to which he was condemned by his judges was banishment, but Louis XIV. changed it to one of perpetual detention. In 1661 the finances were intrusted to Colbert, with the title of comptroller-general, and from this moment order took the place of chaos in all the branches of the public administration.

Louis XIV. displayed an excessive jealousy with respect to

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the honor of his crown and a great impatience to give to France the leading place among European nations. He forced Philip IV. to acknowledge that Spain was the inferior power, because the Spanish ambassador had by force taken precedence of the French ambassador at a public ceremony in London. Imbued with the belief that power is the only law in politics, Louis successfully supported Portugal against Spain in defiance of the Treaty of the Pyrenees. He afforded a more honorable assistance to the Emperor Leopold against the Turks. A French corps, under the command of the Counts Coligny and La Feuillade, covered itself with glory at the battle of Saint-Gothard, where Montecuccoli completely defeated the grand-vizier, and by this victory procured a truce of twenty years' duration between Turkey and Austria. The king, by the advice of Colbert, concluded a useful commercial alliance with Holland and supported this republic against England until the Peace of Breda, in 1667. He intrusted, at the same period, to the Duke of Beaufort a fleet which freed the Mediterranean of pirates, and carried the terror of the French arms even to Algiers. He created a new army and with the assistance of his minister, Louvois, son and successor of Le Tellier, gave to this army an organization which was the admiration and envy of Europe.

France soon began to taste the fruits of Colbert's vigilant supervision of every branch of the administration. Brought up at a counter, and the son of a wool merchant of Rheims, he succeeded in effecting the most difficult reforms and the execution of all his plans by the aid of a strong will and indefatigable industry. He reduced the burden of taxation, but at the same time greatly augmented the revenue. He opened to France new sources of wealth and laid the foundations of its prosperity in commerce and industry. He established manufactories for the production of French point lace, looking-glasses, cloths, tapestries, carpets, silks and watches and took pains to secure outlets for all these products of French industry. He founded colonies, established chambers of commerce and insurance, storehouses, means of transit, and a new system of customs favorable to commercial transactions. On the other hand, he has been justly reproached with having too greatly sacrificed the agricultural interests to those of commerce, not only by prohibiting the exportation of grain, but also by prohibiting its free circulation in the interior. A navy was necessary

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1669-1672

for the protection of commerce and Colbert in a short time displayed before the eyes of astonished Europe a hundred vessels of war. He had the port of Rochefort, on the Charente, excavated, and those of Brest and Toulon, which were fortified by Vauban, deepened. Finally his mode of administration furnished the king with the means of covering the French frontiers on the north and east with a line of fortresses and of regaining Dunkirk, that city so necessary to the defense of the kingdom, which was shamefully sold to Louis XIV. by Charles II., in defiance of all the interests of England.

The king lost his mother in 1669. Philip IV., his father-in-law, had died in the preceding year, and Louis, without paying attention to the formal renunciation made by Maria Theresa, immediately set up claims in her name to Flanders, to the exclusion of the rights of Charles II., the younger son of Philip IV., on the pretext that her dowry had not been paid. He gained over the Emperor Leopold to his side by making him hope that he would obtain a share of the spoils wrung from Charles II., and took the field at the head of his army. In a few weeks he rendered himself master of French Flanders. This success was followed by the conquest of Franche-Comté, a province ruled by Spain, which was achieved within a month. Europe became alarmed at the rapid successes, and a triple alliance was formed against Louis between Holland, England and Sweden. The grand-pensioner of Holland, John de Witt, became the soul of this league, and it forced the king to sign the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), in accordance with which he retained Flanders, but was compelled to restore Franche-Comté.

During the continuance of the peace, Louis XIV. devoted his attention to the internal administration of the kingdom. He then considered how to avenge himself upon Holland and punish her for having taken part in the Triple Alliance. Offended by some medals which represented the United Provinces as the arbiters of Europe, and irritated at the impertinence of certain gazetteers, the king seized upon these frivolous pretexts and, in 1672, declared war upon the Dutch. At the same time he detached from their alliance Charles XI., King of Sweden, and Charles II., King of England, always ready to sell his support, and to sacrifice the interests of his people to his pleasures.

The Dutch fleets covered the seas and secured the commercial

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prosperity of Holland by protecting its magnificent establishments in the East Indies. Louis XIV. reinforced his own by fifty English vessels and entered Holland at the head of a hundred thousand men accompanied by Turenne, Vauban, Luxemburg, Louvois, and by Condé, who was in command of the army.

To oppose a hundred thousand troops, supported by a formidable artillery and commanded by the most celebrated generals, the United Provinces had about twenty-five thousand troops ill accustomed to war, commanded by Prince William of Orange, a young man of feeble constitution and only twenty-two years of age, who had seen neither sieges nor battles. Though brave and undaunted by reverses, he could not check the torrent which flowed down upon his country, and all the places on the Rhine and the Yssel fell into the hands of the French. The Prince of Orange, in default of sufficient troops to support the campaign in the open field, hastily formed lines beyond the Rhine, which he soon saw it would be impossible to defend. In the passage of this river, by the French, the Duke of Longueville lost his life, while Condé received a wound and resigned the command to Turenne. Within a few months three provinces and forty strong places had been taken, and Amsterdam itself was threatened. An attempt made by the peace party under the grand-pensioner, John de Witt, to put an end to the war, signally failed, on account of the insulting and humiliating terms demanded by the king. Despair lent strength to the vanquished. They opened their dykes and laid the country under water, for the purpose of compelling the French to evacuate it. The Dutch Admiral Ruyter struggled gloriously against the combined squadrons of France and England, and the battle of Solebay secured the coasts of the republic from any chance of attack. Europe rose in favor of Holland. The Emperor Leopold, the kings of Spain and Denmark, the greater number of the princes of the empire, the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, the founder of the high fortunes of his house—all, alarmed at the ambition of Louis XIV., leagued themselves against him, while Charles II. himself was compelled by his Parliament to break off his French alliance. Louis XIV., threatened by so many enemies, could not collect together sufficient troops to carry on the campaign, and in a short time the whole of Holland was evacuated with the exception of Grave and Maestricht. Franche-Comté, however, indemnified him for so many losses. The whole province was conquered in six

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1674-1675

weeks, in 1674, and a second time wrested from Spain, was never to return.

The great Condé, having the Prince of Orange in front of him, now fought his last battle near Senef, in Flanders (1674). The French gained the victory, but William rallied his troops and held the victors in check. Three times Condé attacked him without being able to drive him from his last and impenetrable position. The loss of each side was frightful; seven thousand dead were left on the field of battle; Condé had three horses killed under him. The contest lasted fourteen hours, and was a drawn battle.

Turenne had then to defend the frontiers on the side of the Rhine, and after a rapid and skillful march he crossed that river at Philipsburg, took Sintzheim, and at the same time defeated Caprara, the emperor's general, and the old Duke of Lorraine, Charles IV. He next vanquished the Prince of Bournonville, near Ensheim and then retreated and took up his winter quarters in Lorraine. The enemy believed the campaign to be at an end, but for Turenne it had only commenced. Brisach and Philipsburg were blockaded and seventy thousand Germans occupied Alsace, but Turenne, with twenty thousand men and a few cavalry, suddenly appeared in upper Alsace in the midst of the enemy, who believed him to be still in Lorraine. He vanquished successively at Mülhausen and at Colmar the corps which offered resistance, and utterly routed a formidable body of German infantry at Turkheim. Alsace remained in the king's possession, and the generals of the empire recrossed the Rhine, closely followed into the Palatinate by their conqueror. At length the emperor sent against Turenne Montecuccoli, the first of his generals and the vanquisher of the Turks at Saint-Gothard. The two great opponents were on the point of giving battle to each other near the village of Salzbach, in Baden, and Turenne was confident of victory, when, on visiting a battery, he fell dead, struck by a cannon ball (1675). Montecuccoli, informed of his death, drove the French troops across the Rhine and penetrated into Alsace. Condé was sent to oppose him, and was able to check the progress of the imperial army, and to force Montecuccoli to raise the sieges of Hagennau and Saverne. Alsace was evacuated. This brilliant campaign was the last conducted by the two illustrious rivals. The great Condé henceforth lived in retirement at Chantilly, where he died in 1688; while Montecuccoli withdrew from the emperor's service.

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The Duke of Créqui was beaten in 1675 at Consarbrück, near Trèves, by the Duke of Lorraine, but marked successes followed his reverse. Messina had shaken off the yoke of Spain and had placed itself under the protection of France. Assisted by the Dutch fleet, the Spaniards endeavored to retake it, but Duquesne defeated the combined fleets in the sea fights of Stromboli and Agosta, in the latter of which the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter lost his life. These operations were followed by two brilliant campaigns, conducted by the king in Flanders. The heroic capture of Valenciennes, made in the open day by the musqueteers—those of Cambrai and St. Omer—and the victory of Cassel, gained by the king's brother over the Prince of Orange, terminated this war, which was unjustly commenced, but was gloriously concluded. Louis now found himself the arbiter of Europe. The Estates-General of Holland were weary of a struggle which had been maintained but by their subsidies, and a congress assembled at Nimeguen, at which peace was signed on August 10, 1678. Holland recovered all that had been taken from her during the war; Spain abandoned the Franche-Comté and many places in the Low Countries; the right of France to the possession of Alsace was confirmed. Lorraine remained in the hands of the French. Sicily was evacuated. To the advantages secured by the Peace of Nimeguen Louis added others, not less important, and which he obtained by fraud and violence. In addition to portions of the domains of the King of Sweden, of the Duke of Würtemburg, of Deux-Ponts, of the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Trèves, and a number of other princes, which he claimed in a most arbitrary manner as dependencies of countries ceded to him by the treaty, Louis seized upon the free city of Strassburg (1681), and Vauban fortified it so as to make it the rampart of the kingdom against Germany.

Justly irritated at these usurpations, the powers of Europe formed a fresh league on the day of the capture of Strassburg. But three hundred thousand Turks at the same time poured down upon the empire, and Leopold and a great number of the powers, being too feeble to recommence the war, protested, without taking any active measures. Spain alone dared to enter the field, and lost Courtray, Dixmunde and Luxembourg. A truce of twenty years, to which the emperor and Holland acceded, was concluded at Ratisbon (1683), according to which the king was to retain, during his life, Luxembourg, Strassburg and all the annexations pro-

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1683

nounced legitimate by the sovereign courts. Everywhere the terror of his arms prevailed. The ships of Spain lowered their flags before his. Duquesne freed the Mediterranean of the pirates which infested it, and Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli made their submission. Genoa accused, falsely perhaps, of having assisted the pirates, was bombarded (1683-1684) and its doge was forced to go to Versailles to implore the compassion of Louis XIV. The Roman court, already deeply humiliated by him, was beaten a second time on the subject of the *droit de régale*. This law, up to the time of Louis XIV., did not affect the churches of Guienne, Provence, and Dauphiné, but by a royal edict, issued in 1673, they were now all rendered equally subject to it. The Pope, Innocent XI., vigorously opposed this innovation, and a long-continued struggle ensued. But at length, in 1682, an assembly of the French clergy drew up, at the instigation of Bossuet, the four famous articles, in which is set forth the doctrine of the Gallican church. They are to the effect—1st, That the ecclesiastical power has no authority over the temporal power of princes; 2d, That the general council is superior to the Pope, as was determined by the Council of Constance; 3d, That the exercise of the apostolic power should be regulated by the canons and the usages in vogue in particular churches; 4th, That the judgment of the sovereign Pontiff in matters of faith is not infallible until sanctioned by the church. The Pope condemned these articles and refused bulls to all those who had been members of the assembly of 1682. The bishops nominated by the king continued, however, to administer their dioceses, by virtue of the powers conferred on them by the chapters. This expedient, suggested by Bossuet, prevented perhaps a complete schism between the Church of France and the Church of Rome.

Louis XIV., feared by Europe, was an absolute king in his own dominions, and could say with truth, "The State—it is I!" He had destroyed the few national franchises which had hitherto been preserved rather by custom than by law. Everybody in the state rivaled each other in testifying their devotion and obedience to him. The high clergy had lost all political influence. The nobility was kept in submission by the habit of a brilliant servitude to the monarch and the enticements of court pleasures and fêtes; the Parlement found its functions limited to the administration of justice, and the Third Estate lost its municipal liberties by the definitive establishment of intendants and the sale of the per-

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petual mayorships. The three orders were finally reduced to a political nullity by the king's prejudice against the States-General, and his invincible resolution never to convoke them. The chains of a central administration, the occult power of the police, newly established, and the maintenance of a numerous standing army, completed the reduction of the kingdom to a state of passive and slavish obedience—a state in which the king kept it by the dazzling glory of his victories and the marvelous works effected during his reign. France now began to possess colonies, which, unlike those previously founded in the Floridas, Canada and Africa, were dependent on the mother country. Colbert purchased the establishments at the Antilles in the name of Louis XIV., and placed under the protection of the French government a portion of the great Isle of St. Domingo, which had been taken by French filibusters from the Spaniards. A West India Company, established by his efforts in 1664, purchased the French possessions in America, from Canada to the Amazons, and in Africa, from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope. Another company, called the East India, also arose at this period. Founded at first at Madagascar, it soon quitted that isle and planted itself in the Indies. It established a factory at Surat and founded Pondicherry, which became the center of operations in India.

Beneath all this grandeur, however, there were concealed many vices and numerous perils. Louis XIV. believed that he possessed an absolute right over the lives and fortunes of his subjects, and called himself "God's lieutenant upon earth." Dazzled by the prodigies effected in his reign, intoxicated by incessant praise, victorious over all opposition, he almost reached the point of persuading himself that his glory, rendered lawful on his part, what, in the case of other men, was most criminal in the sight of God.

He gloried in triumphing over difficulties, and in undertaking what seemed impossible things, and Colbert saw with terror the public treasure engulfed at Versailles in gigantic and useless works. It was easy to foresee all the miseries with which France was threatened if the will of the prince, without counterpoise, should cease to be guided by the councils of genius, and should yield to those of ignorance and fanaticism, and if his prejudices and the interests of his power and those of his family should ever be in antagonism with the interests and requirements of France. These gloomy forebodings of superior minds were too soon justi-

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1683

fied. Colbert died in 1683, and from that time the rising prosperity of the reign received a check. The prodigalities of the king and the expenses of the late war, which had been undertaken against the advice of Colbert, had already obliged the latter to have recourse to loans and to vexatious taxes, which excited the murmurs of the people. After his death the finances fell into a frightful state of confusion, and it almost seemed as though this great minister had carried with him to the tomb the fairest portion of his master's glory and good fortune.

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Chapter XIII

LOUIS XIV. AND THE DECLINE OF THE FRENCH POWER IN EUROPE. 1683-1715

THE health of Louis XIV. had suffered since 1682 an alteration which, while it soured his temper, inclined him to abandon himself without reserve to the fatal suggestions of Louvois and Madame de Maintenon. The former, an egotistical, proud and cold-hearted man, had been the personal enemy of Colbert; the latter, the talented widow of the poet Scarron, had raised herself from the obscure post of instructress of the children of Louis XIV. to the most elevated rank. For there is no doubt that the king secretly married her, and the year 1685 is that in which this clandestine marriage is said to have taken place. From that moment Louis XIV. appeared to have survived himself. Great talents still shone around him and glorious victories checked the current of his adversity, but his resolutions were ever subject to pride or superstition. Most of them hurried on the ruin of the monarchy and few of them really tended either to its greatness or prosperity. One of the first and most disastrous acts of this period of his reign was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The decree by which this edict was suppressed was issued on October 22, 1685. It interdicted throughout the whole kingdom the exercise of the reformed religion, ordered all its ministers to leave the kingdom within a fortnight and enjoined parents and tutors to bring up the children in their care in the Catholic religion. Emigration on the part of the Protestants was prohibited under pain of the galleys and confiscation of property. But in spite of this, a hundred thousand industrious families escaped from France, and the foreign nations which received them with open arms became enriched by their industry at the expense of their native country. This odious decree intensified the hatred of the Protestants for their king and increased their resources and their strength, while it enfeebled those of the kingdom, for there were formed many regiments of French refugees who inflicted more than one severe blow on the persecuting monarch.

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A MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE OF LOUIS XIV AT THE SALON OF MADAME DE MAINTENON

Painting by John Gilbert

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The conduct of this prince in respect to strangers was neither more just nor more prudent. His overbearing pride, the disdain with which he treated all foreign powers, and his usurpations after the Peace of Nimeguen, which he maintained with so much arrogance, and to which in 1687 he added the seizure of Avignon, which for centuries had belonged to the Popes, disgusted all Europe. The Prince of Orange, against whose consent the Peace of Nimeguen had been concluded, had become the soul of a new league, which took the name of the League of Augsburg (1688), from the city in which it was first agreed upon. The emperor, the empire, Spain, Holland, and Savoy formed a coalition against France, and Louis sent a large army into Germany under the orders of the dauphin.

This campaign commenced at the period of the second revolution in England (1688). James II., brother and successor of the immoral Charles II., had been compelled to quit the throne for endeavoring to reëstablish the Catholic faith in his kingdom, and William of Orange, and Mary, the daughter of James II., had been proclaimed King and Queen of England.

James II. sought an asylum in France. Louis XIV. received him with royal magnificence and immediately took up his cause, in spite of all the enemies, who on the north, the east, and the south, threatened his frontiers. The dauphin, assisted by Henry of Durfort, Marshals Duras, Catinat and Vauban, had already taken Philipsburg, and before the end of the campaign had become possessed of Mayence, Trèves, Spires, Worms, and other places in the electorate of Cologne. Thus, at the commencement of the war, Louis XIV. found himself master of the three ecclesiastical electorates and a portion of the Palatinate. This unhappy province, by an order of Louis XIV., signed by Louvois, was inhumanly ravaged, with the intention of keeping back the enemy, and forty cities and a multitude of boroughs and villages were given to the flames (1689). Germany burst into a cry of horror, and at once sent into the field three large armies, the command of which was intrusted to the Duke of Lorraine, Charles V., the Prince of Waldeck, and the Elector of Brandenburg. Charles V. retook Bonn and Mayence, drove Marshal Duras back into France, and died in the midst of his successes. Waldeck vanquished Marshal Humières in Flanders. Luxembourg was then appointed to the command of the grand army of the north and justified the king's choice in the most brilliant manner. His first achievement was the defeat of

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the Prince of Waldeck, near Fleurus, 1690. But the victory, which seemed to be a decisive one, had, nevertheless, no decisive result. The remains of the vanquished army joined at Brussels the army of the Elector of Brandenburg, while Louvois, jealous of the victor, deprived him of a portion of his troops. The enemy was thus enabled to regain his supremacy and Luxembourg was reduced to acting on the defensive. Catinat now gained in Piedmont the battle of Staffarde against Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, whose states were lost for France as soon as won. The Duke of Bavaria and Prince Eugene, a general in the service of the emperor, compelled Catinat to recross the Alps.

James II. had gone in the preceding year to Ireland, where the Catholic population remained faithful to him, and still hoped, with the aid of Louis XIV., to recover his crown. The decisive battle of the Boyne (1691), however, ruined his hopes, and in the following year the result of the battle of Aghrim planted the crown firmly on the head of William III. Louis XIV., with Luxembourg and La Feuillade, made a campaign in Flanders in 1691, the only important results of which were the capture of Mons by the king and the glorious battle of Leuze, which resulted in the defeat of the Prince of Waldeck. This success, however, was of no permanent advantage to France. The distress which prevailed throughout the kingdom was now extreme. The treasury was exhausted by the king's prodigalities and the maintenance of four hundred and fifty thousand men in the field. A loan was opened for six millions of funds; offices were created, which financiers were compelled to purchase; considerable donations were demanded of the cities, while the king redoubled his efforts and made immense preparations for carrying on the war. He marched into Flanders himself at the head of eighty thousand men, with Luxembourg and the Marquis of Boufflers under his orders, while Catinat carried on the war in Piedmont. Louis XIV. now had before him his illustrious rival King William, who had come from England to command his army in Flanders. The king in person took Namur, while Luxembourg, on the banks of the Méhaigne, covered the siege, and held the forces of William in check. After this exploit, Louis XIV. quitted the army and resigned the command to Luxembourg, who covered himself with glory at the battle of Steinkirk, in which William was defeated and compelled to retire, a movement which he effected in good order. In the fol-

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1693-1697

lowing year, 1693, at Neerwinden, Luxembourg again obtained a signal victory over this prince, but again failed to derive any particular advantage from it. William once more made an admirable retreat and Louis XIV., who had formerly made so many conquests almost without fighting, could now scarcely achieve the conquest of Flanders after numerous bloody victories. Catinat, no less successful than Luxembourg, was victorious in Piedmont. But all these glorious successes were counterbalanced by the disastrous invasion made by Victor Amadeus into Provence and the fatal battle of La Hogue, in which the French fleet under Tourville was defeated and almost destroyed by an English fleet under Admiral Russell.

This ruinous war was prolonged for three years, during which Europe hurled back on Louis XIV. the evils he had made her suffer. The Dutch seized Pondicherry, and ruined French commerce in the Indies, while the English destroyed the French plantations at Saint Domingo, bombarded Havre, Saint Malo, Calais and Dunkirk, and reduced Dieppe to ashes. Duguay-Trouin and Jean Bart avenged these disasters at the expense of the enemy's maritime commerce and Commodore Pointis surprised the city of Carthagena. These successes, however, but ill repaired the great losses suffered by France. At length, after the ineffectual campaigns of Boufflers on the Rhine and of Vendôme in Catalonia, Louis entered into negotiations for peace. He first of all succeeded, in 1696, in detaching from the league the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, who gave his daughter in marriage to the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis; while in Catalonia, Vendôme, after many successes, achieved the important conquest of Barcelona. These last events, and especially the defection of the Duke of Savoy, hastened the progress of the negotiations, and at length peace was signed at Ryswick on September 20, 1697. By this treaty the King of Spain resumed possession of many places in the Low Countries; the possession of Strassburg was confirmed to France, but she agreed to restore all the annexations with the exception of Alsace. The Elector Palatine resumed possession of his domains, and the Duke of Lorraine that of his duchy, now diminished by Longwy and Sarrelouis, which remained in the hands of France. Finally, the Dutch restored Pondicherry and signed an advantageous treaty with France, which kept her colonies and preserved her possessions at Saint Domingo.

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Charles II., King of Spain, languished in expectation of approaching death. He had no children, and the Kings of France and England, and the Emperor Leopold, coveting his domains, had entered into a secret agreement to divide them, when Charles nominated as his successor Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of his eldest sister, Maria Theresa, and second son of the dauphin of France. If Philip became King of Spain he was to renounce his eventual rights to the throne of France. Charles II. died in 1700. Louis XIV. knew that to accept this testament was to break the agreement which he had previously signed, and to expose France to a new war with Europe. But notwithstanding this, he accepted the will, recognized the Duke of Anjou as a king under the title Philip V. The emperor immediately protested, and a year had scarcely elapsed before Holland, England and the empire had made common cause with him against Louis XIV. This monarch had committed two serious faults: one in sending to Philip V. letters patent, by which his rights to the throne of France were preserved to him, contrary to the express will of the testator, and the other, in recognizing the son of James II. as King of England after his father's death, in spite of a formal clause in the Treaty of Ryswick. The confederate powers immediately made preparations for the terrible war, known in history as the War of Succession (1701-1713), in which the north of Europe, then divided between Peter the Great and Charles XII., took no part. Louis XIV. and Philip V. had as their allies against this formidable league only the King of Portugal, the Duke of Savoy, the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and the dukes of Parma, Modena and Mantua. Hostilities first commenced in Lombardy, where Prince Eugene commanded the imperial army of forty thousand men. The French were defeated at Chiari, on the Oglio, after which Catinat, who directed a retreat, led the French across the Adda. Winter separated the two armies.

In 1702 Eugene surprised Cremona, where Villeroi, who had been commander-in-chief, was made prisoner. The French speedily retook this city and the king appointed Vendôme, who was adored by the soldiers, to the command of the army. Vendôme reanimated the courage of his troops and signalized his arrival among them by the victory of Luzara (1703). In the course of this year the English general, Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, vanquished in Flanders the Duke of Burgundy, heir presumptive to the crown, and Marshal Boufflers, and freed the

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course of the Meuse from the occupation of Spanish troops; while the French and Spanish fleets were defeated in the port of Vigo, in Galicia, by Admiral Rooke and the Duke of Ormond, who seized the rich galleons of Havana. Villars, however, who commanded as a lieutenant-general a corps in Alsatia, partly counterbalanced in Germany these reverses by the defeat of the imperialists, under the Prince of Baden, in the battle of Friedlingen. This was followed by the victory of Donauwerth, which Villars, who had been made a marshal of France, gained over the imperialists in the plains of Hochstädt, in concert with the Elector of Bavaria, and the road to Vienna appeared open to the French. But there their successes ceased.

The Duke of Savoy abandoned France and supported against Philip V. and the Duke of Burgundy, his two sons-in-law, the cause of the emperor. Villars was succeeded in his command by the Count of Marsin, on account of a want of concord between him and the Elector of Bavaria, whose troops were united with his own. He was sent to put down the Protestants, who had fled to Cevennes, and who had been driven to revolt by despair. Portugal then broke its alliance with France. The many reverses France had now suffered were speedily followed by a still more terrible blow. Marshal Tallard, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Count of Marsin were completely defeated in the battle of Blenheim (1704), by Eugene and Marlborough; their united armies were destroyed and Tallard himself was taken prisoner. This unfortunate battle cost the French fifty thousand men and a hundred leagues of country. The enemy advanced into Alsatia, and took Landau. The frontiers had been crossed by the enemy and every day the war of the Cevennes became more formidable. The Calvinist mountaineers had formed themselves into regular regiments, under the name of Camisards. Louis XIV. so far bent his pride as to treat, as one power treats with another, with their leaders just escaped from the scaffold, and one of them named Cavalier, celebrated for his invincible courage, who had formerly been a butcher's boy, received from the king a pension and a colonel's commission. Villars arranged this necessary pacification.

In 1704 the English took from Spain the fortress of Gibraltar, and in the same year fought a drawn battle with the French fleet off Malaga. This combat seriously weakened the naval power of France under Louis XIV., and the remains of the fleet

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sent under Marshal Tessé in the following year to retake Gibraltar was destroyed by the English and by tempests. In 1705 the English under the Earl of Peterborough laid siege to and took Barcelona, where the Archduke Charles was proclaimed King of Spain. Vendôme, in Piedmont, victorious over Eugene at the Bridge of Cassano on the Adda, in 1705, alone interrupted the torrent of misfortune which swept over Louis XIV. and Philip V. at this period.

The year 1706 was still more fatal to these two monarchs, although the campaign opened in the north and south under the most favorable auspices. Vendôme having gained, in the absence of Eugene, the victory of Calcinato over the imperialists, marched upon Turin, the only important place which remained in the hands of the Duke of Savoy, and laid siege to it. Villars drove before him the Duke of Baden as far as the German frontier, but in Flanders Villeroi was completely defeated by Marlborough at Ramillies. The loss on the side of the French was frightful; twenty thousand were slain or taken prisoners. The whole of Spanish Flanders was lost; Marlborough entered Brussels in triumph, and Menin surrendered. The king now transferred Vendôme from Italy to Flanders, and this measure was the cause of a new and terrible disaster. Eugene had already crossed the Po, in spite of the French army which closed against him the road to Turin, and effected at Asti his junction with the Duke of Savoy. Marshal Marsin had succeeded Vendôme in the command of the army, with which was the Duke of Orleans, and being unable to check the progress of Eugene, had joined La Feuillade before Turin. Eugene threw himself upon the French entrenchments, and carried them. Marshal Marsin was killed; the French troops were dispersed, and the military chest, together with a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the enemy (1706). The Milanese territory, Mantua, and consequently the kingdom of Naples, were lost for Philip V. Eugene marched unopposed upon France, while Lord Galway took possession of Madrid, where he proclaimed the archduke.

The Emperor Leopold had died in the preceding year, but his son and successor, Joseph I., carried on the war with vigor. France, without allies, lay open to the enemy, when Villars, reappointed to the command-in-chief of the army, took the lines of Stalhoffen, and advanced into Germany, but being unsupported,

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he was compelled to retreat and reënter France. Marshal Berwick gained in Spain the battle of Almanza (1707), which reopened to Philip V. the road to his capital, and Marshal Tessé forced the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Toulon.

The army of Flanders, under the orders of the Duke of Vendôme, amounting to a hundred thousand men, was the last hope of France. Louis XIV. appointed his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, to command it jointly with Vendôme. An unfortunate misunderstanding divided the two generals, and the result was the defeat of Oudenarde (1708) and the capture of Lille, in spite of the gallant defense made by Boufflers. The enemy was allowed to take Ghent and Bruges, and all its military posts in succession. The road to Paris was now unprotected, and a Dutch corps, advancing as far as Versailles, took prisoner on the bridge of Sèvres the king's master of the horse, whom it mistook for the dauphin.

The war had exhausted all the resources of France, and the severe winter of 1709 brought the general misery to its greatest depth. The people in many provinces perished of famine; revolts broke out in every direction and payment of the taxes was refused. Louis XIV. sent to propose peace to the Dutch, whom he had formerly so cruelly humiliated, but his envoy, the President Rouillé, was received in Holland with haughtiness and contempt. The Grand Pensionary, Heinsius, Prince Eugene and Marlborough scornfully rejected the propositions of Louis XIV., who offered to abandon the monarchy of Spain, and to grant to the Dutch a barrier which should separate them from France. He demanded that the king should give up Alsatia and a part of Flanders, and insisted that he should assist them against his grandson. The President Rouillé was ordered to convey this ultimatum to Louis XIV., and to quit Holland within four-and-twenty hours. By the king's orders the extravagant demands of the enemy were published throughout the kingdom, whereupon indignation aroused patriotism, and France redoubled its efforts. But on the other hand, Villars lost in Flanders, against Eugene and Marlborough united, the sanguinary battle of Malplaquet (1710). The result was that many strong places fell into the hands of the allies, while in Spain the defeat of Saragossa compelled Philip a second time to fly from his capital and to traverse his kingdom as a

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fugitive. At this juncture unexpected events occurred to help France. Vendôme reappeared in Spain, where his name effected prodigies. His victory of Villaviciosa, in 1711, destroyed the army of the Archduke Charles, and saved the crown of Philip V. The death of the Emperor Joseph at this time also proved of considerable assistance to France. The Archduke Charles, his brother, the competitor of Philip V., obtained the imperial crown, and incurred in his turn the reproach of aspiring to universal monarchy. From this time England was no longer interested in supporting his claims to the throne of Spain, and agreed to a truce with France. Marlborough was recalled, and the Duke of Ormond, his successor, received orders to remain neutral. Eugene, however, continued his career of conquest in Flanders. He was master of Bouchain and Quesnoy and between him and Paris there was no strong fortress. Louis saw his capital threatened, and was overwhelmed with domestic troubles, for in the space of a year he lost the dauphin, his son, the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, and their eldest son. Vendôme died in Spain. The court and the kingdom were paralyzed with fear, when Marshal Villars saved his country by carrying Prince Eugene's entrenched camp at Denain, in 1712, and defeating the combined dukes and imperial troops under this prince and the Duke of Albemarle. Having entered Denain as a victor, Villars immediately sent the Count of Broglie to Marchiennes, whence the enemy procured his provisions and munitions of war, while he himself pursued the vanquished along the Scheldt. The bridges broke down under the crowds of fugitives; all were taken or slain and Eugene himself could not cross the stream. Marchiennes, Douai and Quesnoy successively surrendered and the frontiers were secured against attack.

This great success hastened the conclusion of peace, which was signed at Utrecht in 1713. Its principal provisions were that Philip V. should be acknowledged as King of Spain, but that his monarchy should be dismembered. Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of king. The English obtained Minorca and Gibraltar, France also ceding to them Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and St. Christopher. Louis XIV. promised to dismantle the port of Dunkirk; abandoned a portion of his conquests in the Low Countries and recovered Lille, Aire, Béthune and Saint-Venant. The Elector of Brandenburg was recognized as king of Prussia, and obtained the upper Guelderland, the principality of

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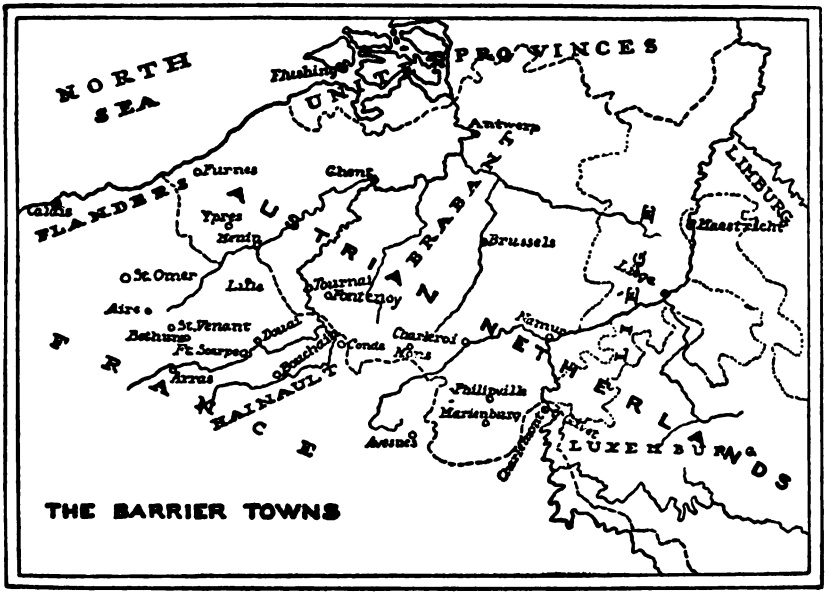
Neufchâtel, and many other districts. The Emperor Charles VI. refused at first to join in this peace, but Villars forced him to do so by crossing the Rhine, and a preliminary treaty was signed between Villars and Prince Eugene at Rastatt; peace being definitely concluded on June 7, 1714, between France, the emperor and the empire. By this peace the emperor obtained the Low Countries, the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples, detached from the monarchy of Spain, and also recovered Fribourg and all the forts on the right bank of the Rhine. France retained Landau and the left bank of the Rhine. The Elector of Bavaria was re-



established in his rights and dignities. All the sovereign princes of the empire recovered their states. Holland obtained, by a third and final treaty, which was signed in 1715, the right of garrisoning many places in the Low Countries which France restored to it, but it retained the principality of Orange, with respect to which the House of Nassau had ceded its rights to that of Brandenburg. Such were the results of this disastrous war of twelve years' duration. France preserved its frontiers by the Peace of Utrecht, but its immense sacrifices had opened an abyss in which the monarchy was finally engulfed.

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Toward the close of his long life the king showed himself determined to set, for the sake of his family, his own personal will above the laws of the kingdom and every moral consideration. He married his natural daughter, Mademoiselle of Blois, to his nephew, Philip of Orleans, afterwards regent, and he caused his sons by Madame de Montespan—the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse—to be legitimated, giving them precedence over all the first nobles of the kingdom. Finally, by an edict issued in 1714, he granted them the right of succession to the throne in default of legitimate princes.

The king was now growing feebler day by day. His great grandson, who was to succeed him on the throne, was only five years of age, and the regency would devolve upon his nephew, Philip of Orleans. Anxious with respect to the future prospects of the two princes, whom she had brought up, Madame de Maintenon persuaded the king to make a will, which limited the power of the regent by the establishment of a council of which the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, his sons by Madame de Montespan, were to be members. Louis XIV. himself had little confidence that obedience would be paid to this testament, which he confided to the Parlement, with orders that it was not to be opened before his death.

About the beginning of August, 1715, the king complained of sciatica in the leg, which was found to be an incurable wound. On the 14th the malady declared itself. Louis nevertheless continued to work in his bed, rising from time to time. On August 24 he confessed himself to Father Tellier, and on the following day, feeling very ill, he received extreme unction from Cardinal Rohan. From this time he languished, calmly contemplating his end, till September 1, when he expired at Versailles, in his seventy-seventh year, after a reign of seventy-two years. Madame de Maintenon, eighty-two years of age, retired to the house of St. Cyr, which she had founded for the education of three hundred daughters of the nobility of slender fortune, and she remained there till her death.

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MADAME DE MAINTENON

Painting by Pierre Mignard
Museum of Versailles

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Chapter XIV

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ARBITRARY POWER, UNDER LOUIS XV. 1715-1774

IN appointing his nephew, Philip of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, by his will, Louis XIV. had merely bestowed upon him a title, without any real power. He separated the regency from the tutorship of the young king, which, together with the command of the royal household troops, was confided to the Duke of Maine. A council of regency, formed of courtiers and former ministers, and in which the Duke of Orleans was only to have a deliberative voice, was to exercise the real sovereign authority. On the day following the late king's death the Duke of Orleans presented himself before the Parlement of Paris, accompanied by the princes, the peers of the kingdom, and a numerous following of courtiers and officials, whom he had gained over to his interests. In a very skillful harangue the duke displayed his anxiety to receive from the Parlement the title to which, by his birth, he had a right. Then, after having given this assembly to understand that he would attend to their suggestions, he read the will. The greater number of the magistrates were devoted to the duke, and the testament was unanimously set aside. The Parlement acknowledged the duke as regent of the kingdom, with full power and liberty to compose the council of regency as he might think proper. Orleans summoned to it those whom Louis XIV. had selected, with the addition of the Duke of Saint-Simon, and Cheverny, formerly Bishop of Troyes. The Duke of Maine retained the superintendence of the education of Louis XV., who was being brought up at Vincennes, but he was deprived of the command of the household troops. The various ministries were suppressed, the regent substituting for them six distinct councils; that of conscience, and those of war, finance, marine, foreign and home affairs, which were presided over by Cardinal of Noailles, Marshal Villars, the Duke of Noailles, Marshal Estrées, Marshal Uxelles, and the Duke of Antin. To these a seventh was subse-

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quently added, entitled the council of commerce. The regent reserved to himself personally the superintendence of the academy of sciences. His first measures were generally approved of. He ordered judicial inquiries into the conduct of the financiers; fixed the value which had hitherto been vacillating, of the various gold and silver coins; inspected the royal prisons and revoked the arbitrary judgments passed by Louis XIV. against many who had unfortunately offended him, among whom was the celebrated Fénelon. It was under these happy auspices that his government commenced.

The influential men were divided into two parties. One, having at its head Marshal Villeroi, the young monarch's governor, faithful to the policy of Louis XIV., wished to maintain a strict alliance with Spain, then governed by the famous Cardinal Alberoni, who, from being a simple country curé, had risen to be the first minister of Philip V.; while the other inclined to an alliance with England. Lord Stair, the English ambassador, with the assistance of Dubois, the minister of the regent's debaucheries, drew him into this alliance and made him purchase it by the expulsion of the Pretender, the son of James II., and the demolition of the port of Mardick, which Louis XIV. had intended to be a substitute for that of Dunkirk. A triple alliance was formed between France, England, and Holland. In the following year these three powers signed, conjointly with the emperor, a new treaty, known by the name of the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, and Spain was summoned to accede to it within three months. The regent, always anxious on the subject of the pretensions of Philip V. to the throne of France and the intrigues of Alberoni, had in the heart of his kingdom many enemies, some of whom had been roused against him by the force of circumstances, and others by the errors of his government and his personal misconduct. His partiality for England and the rigorous measures taken by him against the legitimated princes, whom he had deprived of the rank of princes of the blood at the request of the dukes and peers, had alienated from him their numerous partisans, as well as those who adhered to the policy of Louis XIV. But nothing caused so widespread a feeling of anger against the regent as his financial operations.

The public debt left by Louis XIV. amounted to over three billion livres; the revenues were consumed three years in advance and all credit was destroyed. At first the regent had recourse to

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1715-1716

inquiries into the proceedings of the farmers-general of taxes, and a chamber of justice was appointed to search out and prosecute this species of delinquents. Thousands were denounced as having been guilty of peculation, and their property was declared confiscated to the crown by the chamber, a portion being allotted to the informer in every case as a reward. To such a length was this system carried that to be rich was sufficient to render a man liable to suspicion and accusation. But ultimately universal disgust was felt that the liberty of robbing should have been merely transferred from one set of hands to another, and the chamber of justice fell into well-deserved contempt. Recourse was also had to other means equally arbitrary and violent. The contracts concluded with the former government were annulled; the rents, as well as all pensions amounting to more than six hundred livres, were reduced to one-half; and a multitude of offices and privileges created and sold by the late government were pitilessly suppressed, without any return of the price which had been paid for them. The re-minting of the coin appeared to offer to the government immense advantages, and it was ordered. But this proceeding failed to produce the profit anticipated by those who had suggested it, and had the effect of destroying confidence, checking the circulation of specie and depreciating the gold coin of the kingdom abroad. A third financial operation had for its object a general review of the public funded property, of which the amount was unknown, and which it was resolved to turn into a single species of state bonds. Six hundred millions were examined, which were reduced by law to two hundred and fifty millions, bearing interest at four per cent., of which only one hundred and ninety-five were delivered to the owners of the examined public funds. After these violent measures the Duke of Noailles had recourse to others likely to corrupt the public mind, and resorted to lotteries. The crisis, however, was by no means less imminent, when, in the midst of this general confusion of affairs the Scotchman, Law, began to rise into notice. This adventurer, who eventually became so famous, and who united to high financial conceptions errors which were the result of practical inexperience, enticed the regent by the novelty of his theories, detailed, as they were, with great clearness. At first, however, in 1716, his genius was limited to operations with a bank of which the funds, divided into twelve hundred shares, amounted only to six millions. Law obtained the monopoly of it

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for twenty years. It managed the financial business of private persons, discounted bills of exchange, received deposits, and issued notes payable at sight and in coin of a fixed amount. It had a prodigious success, and caused the current of commerce once more to flow. The regent, anxious to make the government share in the profits of this bank, ordered that its notes should be received in payment of taxes and wished to be himself one of its directors.

Law, however, encountered a lively opposition, and especially from the Parlement. His most formidable adversaries, the Chancellor Aguesseau and the Duke of Noailles, had been dismissed, and the former lieutenant of police, D'Argenson, and Dubois, were at the head of affairs, when the regent resolved to strike a decisive blow at once against the enemies of Law and the legitimated princes. Accordingly, he issued letters patent which deprived the Parlement of the right of remonstrating with respect to matters of finance and policy, and a decree by which the superintendence of the education of the king was taken from the Duke of Maine and given to his nephew and enemy, the Duke of Bourbon, a prince of depraved manners, singularly avaricious, and of the most limited intellect. The councils established by the Duke of Orleans at the commencement of the regency were suppressed, and replaced by departments, at the head of which he placed secretaries of state, who were more directly dependent on himself. A conspiracy, which was supported by the Duke and Duchess of Maine, was set on foot by the Spanish ambassador, the Prince of Cellamare, by order of Cardinal Alberoni, with the view of detaching Louis XV. from the Quadruple Alliance, and depriving the Duke of Orleans of the regency. The plot, however, was discovered by Dubois, and the Spanish ambassador was sent to Blois to await the orders of his court, while the Duke and Duchess of Maine were arrested and imprisoned. But on a free acknowledgment of their fault the regent as frankly forgave them. A magnanimous forgetfulness of injuries was his noblest quality. Nevertheless, there was but one feeling throughout France and Europe respecting the bad faith of the Spanish ambassador, and war with Philip V. was resolved on.

Disturbances now broke out in Brittany, which was still, to a very great extent, uncultivated, and where there languished a poor and ignorant population in subjection to five or six thousand gentlemen. The latter, indignant at the domineering spirit of the governor of the province, Marshal of Montesquiou, resisted some

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demands of the government and were supported in their resistance by the parlement of Brittany. Alberoni saw in these sparks of revolt the hope of a powerful diversion in favor of Philip V., and supported the leaders in their factious projects. The latter signed an agreement of armed confederacy, and called the Spanish troops to their aid, but the lower classes refused to have anything to do with the quarrel. The government had no difficulty in stifling the revolt, and when the Spanish fleet, commanded by the Duke of Ormond, appeared within sight of the coasts of Brittany, it found them lined with troops and defended by a population faithful to the government. In the meantime Marshal Berwick had entered Spain and not only took a great number of places, but destroyed the Spanish navy in its ports. About the same time sixteen thousand imperial troops led into Sicily by General Mercy drove the Spaniards from that island, into which an army of invasion had been sent by Alberoni in the previous year. Crushed by these numerous reverses, Alberoni saw that he was lost. In vain he threatened the French government with an alliance between Spain, England, and Austria. His disgrace was resolved on, and demanded, by the regent, and in December, 1719, Philip V. signed a decree which ordered him to quit Madrid within eight days. The King of Spain also sent in his adhesion to the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, and it was signed by his minister in February, 1720, at the Hague. By this treaty the Emperor Charles VI. renounced the Spanish monarchy, and Philip V. abandoned all the states which, by the Peace of Rastatt, had been severed from it. The emperor undertook to bestow the sovereignty of Tuscany on Don Carlos, the son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, after the death, which was considered imminent, of the last of the Medici. By the same treaty Sicily was given to the House of Austria, the Duke of Savoy receiving in exchange for it Sardinia, which was raised to the rank of a kingdom. The Duke of Orleans now found himself, for a time, the arbiter of Europe. This powerful influence was partly due to the ephemeral but prodigious success of the system established by Law, which, adopted by the regent, enjoyed the highest degree of public favor, and placed immense pecuniary resources in the hands of the government.

Law's bank had been declared the royal bank at the close of the year 1718. It had acquired the privileges belonging to the old India company, which, in addition to vast territories in Louisiana,

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possessed the sole right of trading with Africa and Asia. The government also bestowed on it the monopoly in tobacco, the excise duties of Alsatia and Franche-Comté, the profit derivable from the coinage of money, and, lastly, collection of the revenue. The current coin was depreciated by subjecting it to many consecutive variations, while the banknotes alone appeared to be invariable in value, and thus superior to the money value which they represented. Believing that this was really the case, a credulous multitude eagerly purchased shares in Law's company, and exchanged its gold for his banknotes. This gold served to reimburse the creditors of the state, and they, embarrassed by their capital and full of a blind confidence, readily exchanged it in their turn for shares the value of which increased in proportion to the number of purchasers. The public credulity soon reached its height, and eighteen thousand livres were given for a share the original value of which was no more than five hundred.

This excitement of speculation, however, scandalous as it was, had some favorable effects. The rehabilitation of the much decried paper-money gave an unusual impulse to commerce and industry, the amount of manufactures increased by three-fifths, agriculture and the treasury were enriched by the increased consumption of every species of produce. Everything was easy to the government when it had the gold of the kingdom at its command. French diplomacy became dominant and the navy of France was restored to a state in which it would be able to protect French commerce. The regency annexed colonies to the mother-country and joined to it the Isle of France, which was coveted by the English. The foundation of New Orleans, on the banks of the Mississippi, dates from this period.

At the commencement of 1720 Law found himself at the height of his fortune, and after having abjured the Protestant faith was made comptroller-general. But from this time dates his fall. His principal error had been that he looked upon paper-money as a perfect equivalent for coin, and the fatal consequences of this error had been aggravated by the ignorance and cupidity of the government. Law was not allowed to regulate the movements of his system. A frightful mass of notes, out of all proportion with the coin of France, was manufactured and launched into circulation in spite of his remonstrances. It amounted to the nominal value of many thousand millions and it was soon perceived that it

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would be impossible to redeem it by actual coin. On May 21 there appeared an edict which reduced the shares in the company to half their value. From this moment all illusion with respect to the company was at an end. Law was arrested, and summoned to give in his accounts, which he did with an admirable clearness which confounded his enemies. The direction of the bank and of the company was handed over to Law's old opponent, the Chancellor Aguesseau in 1720. But this illustrious man possessed neither genius nor power sufficient to quell the storm, and misfortunes followed each other in rapid succession. The pestilence which broke out in France closed almost all ports to French vessels and inflicted upon the company enormous losses, the discredit into which it had fallen being at the same time even more injurious to it. At length the Parlement rejected without deliberation the last edicts which afforded any prospects of the bank's solvency, whereupon the government avenged itself by exiling the Parlement in a body to Pontoise, where it remained until its recall to Paris in 1722.

Such was the depreciation of the money value of the bank-notes and the company's shares, that in June, 1721, shares, which a year previously had been worth twenty thousand livres, were purchased for a gold louis. Law then quitted France and retired to Venice, abandoning to the regent all his fortune, with the exception of five hundred thousand crowns, which he had brought with him. The government endeavored, by means of a number of violent edicts, to restore to the notes of the bank a value which nothing but credit could have made them sustain; but these methods were of no avail, and in 1721 the government had again recourse to the operation of examination, to ascertain the real amount of the state debt and the titles of its creditors. Of two thousand two hundred millions worth of paper securities, one-third was declared null, while those that remained were reduced to a value much below that which they nominally bore. The professional stockjobbers, who had made enormous profits, were violently deprived of the larger portion of their gains. The debts which had to be liquidated amounted to seventeen hundred millions, and the state found itself much more in debt than it had been at the death of Louis XIV.

Louis XV. was declared of age by the Parlement in January, 1723. On the attainment of the king's majority, Dubois, who had been made a cardinal by Pope Innocent XIII. for procuring the

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recognition of the Bull Unigenitus of Clement XI. in France—a document which most French churchmen considered prejudicial to the liberties of the Gallican church—was made prime minister, but dying shortly after his elevation, he was succeeded in office by the late regent, who himself died of apoplexy in December, 1723. The Duke of Bourbon then became first minister of the crown. Before his death the Duke of Orleans had projected a marriage between the king and the Infanta of Spain, a child four years of age, and sent his own daughter to Spain as the future wife of the Prince of the Asturias.

Three persons only constituted the king's council; these were the Duke of Bourbon, Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, and Marshal Villars. The first laws made under the authority of this ministry were both foolish and wicked. The legal value of the coin was reduced to one-half, and the rate of interest to the *denier trente*. After a time the disastrous effects of this measure were perceived, and after having plunged the kingdom into confusion it was repealed. Heavy taxes of various kinds were levied throughout the kingdom, and barbarous laws were enacted against the Protestants. Through a jealous hatred of the House of Orleans, and the fear that it might succeed to the crown, if the king should die without a direct heir, the Duke of Bourbon broke off the marriage which had been projected between the king and the Infanta of Spain, whom he sent back to her own country, substituting for her Maria Leczinski, the daughter of Stanislaus, formerly crowned King of Poland by Charles XII., and who, stripped of his royal state, lived in obscurity at Weissenberg. This affront was keenly felt in Spain, when Philip V. learned the rupture of the projected marriage between his daughter and Louis XV. At this news his anger was extreme, and he immediately sent away the two daughters of the regent, one of whom was the widow of his son, Louis, while the other, Mademoiselle of Beaujolais, had been intended to be the wife of the Infante Don Carlos. This was too little to satisfy his vengeance, and he concluded a treaty with the Emperor Charles VI., who was irritated at the opposition shown by the powers to his pragmatic sanction, a law by which, in default of leaving male children, he appointed his daughter, Maria Theresa, to succeed him. Alarmed at this treaty, France, England and Prussia signed in 1725 that of Hanover, the basis of which was a neutral guarantee and alliance.

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In the following year the misery of the people was so great, and the outcries against the government so fierce and frequent, that it was found necessary to dismiss the Duke of Bourbon from office. The king declared that henceforth he would have no first minister, and would hold the reins of government in his own hand.

Although Louis XV. had declared, on the dismissal of the Duke of Bourbon, that he would no longer have a first minister, the functions of this office were virtually discharged by his old tutor Fleury, who had acquired a great ascendency over the king. Averse to war, Fleury, who had been made a cardinal in 1726, used his utmost endeavors to maintain peace. A general congress was opened at Soissons in 1728, but was dissolved in the following year without having achieved any practical result. While the deputies of the several powers were discoursing, Fleury was negotiating. He formed an alliance between Spain and France, and, in 1731, fresh treaties, entered into at Vienna between France, the emperor, Spain and Holland, guaranteed to Charles VI. the execution of his pragmatic sanction in favor of his daughter, to Don Carlos, the possession of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza and the succession to Tuscany. But in spite of all his efforts peace was broken, in consequence of the death of Augustus I., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, in 1733. This prince had been raised to the throne of Poland when Charles XII. had ceased to maintain on it Stanislaus Leczinski. The latter, father-in-law to Louis XV., now conceived the hope of recovering the scepter which he had lost. He proceeded in disguise to Warsaw and was immediately proclaimed king. But the czarina, Anna of Russia, caused the election of Frederick Augustus, the son of Augustus I. This prince guaranteed the pragmatic sanction of Charles VI., who assisted him with troops, while France could only assist Stanislaus, besieged by the Russians at Dantzig, with fifteen hundred French soldiers. Dantzig capitulated, and Stanislaus escaped through the midst of a thousand perils. Louis XV. avenged himself on the emperor by seizing Lorraine. He also formed an alliance with Spain and Savoy, the throne of which had been abdicated by Victor Amadeus, and was now possessed by his son Charles Emmanuel III. Berwick and Villars led armies into Germany and Italy. Berwick took the fortress of Kehl, and Milan fell before the arms of Villars.

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The Duke of Noailles and the Marquis of Asfeld replaced Berwick, while Marshal Coigny and the Count of Broglie succeeded Villars in the command of the army of Italy. Don Carlos, the son of Philip V., seized Naples and Sicily and the French troops, commanded by the Marquis of Asfeld, took Philipsburg in the very face of Prince Eugene. These successes were followed by the battle of Parma, in which Coigny was the victor, and that of Guastalla, which was won by Marshal Broglie. The peace proposed in 1735, when Prince Eugene died, was concluded on the following conditions. Stanislaus renounced the throne of Poland, receiving in exchange the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, which were to revert to France. The Duke of Lorraine, Francis Etienne, received in exchange for those duchies that of Tuscany. Don Carlos, renouncing his claim to Naples and Sicily, obtained them from the emperor, when he was crowned king. Charles VI. resumed possession of Milan and Mantua, and France formally accepted his pragmatic sanction, solemnly engaging to defend it. This treaty was not signed until 1738, and was not agreed to by Spain until 1739. During these negotiations great disturbances broke out in the island of Corsica, then possessed by the Genoese, which led to its annexation to France. The cruel tyranny of the Genoese raised a revolt in this island; the Corsicans appealed for assistance to the French, who invaded the island, and soon afterwards evacuated it without having derived any advantage from their expedition.

The Emperor Charles VI. died in 1740, in the confident hope that his daughter, Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, would inherit his states. But he had scarcely closed his eyes when a crowd of princes put forward pretensions to his vast possessions. Among these the foremost were Charles Albert, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Elector of Saxony, Augustus III., who claimed the whole inheritance, the one as the descendant of a daughter of Ferdinand I., and the other as the husband of the eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph. The King of Spain, Philip V., revived absolute claims to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. The King of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel, claimed the duchy of Milan, and, finally, Frederick II., King of Prussia, sought to obtain Silesia, which belonged, he said, by the right of reversion, to the electors of Brandenburg. This prince first of all launched his battalions upon this province, and then bade Maria Theresa surrender it to

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him, promising her, in case she complied, to afford her his support. Maria Theresa refused, and Frederick thereupon took Breslau, gained in 1741 the battle of Molwitz, and reduced the greater part of Silesia to subjection. France was solemnly engaged to support the pragmatic sanction of Charles VI., but the king's council, pretending to fear lest the House of Austria should become too powerful, devised a shameful subterfuge by which it might reconcile hostile projects with its engagements. It did not declare war directly against the daughter of Charles VI., but it concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, the principal claimant to the succession of Charles and the imperial crown. Spain, which coveted the Austrian possessions in Italy, entered into this alliance, which was also joined successively by the kings of Prussia, Sardinia, and Poland. The partition to be made was thus arranged: Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, was to have the imperial crown, the kingdom of Bohemia, upper Austria and the Tyrol; the Elector of Saxony, Moravia and upper Silesia—the rest of this latter province was to be given to the King of Prussia; and, finally, the Austrian possessions in Italy were to be given to the King of Spain, as an establishment for the Infante Don Philip. To Maria Theresa, who had married Francis of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany, were left Hungary, the Low Countries and lower Austria. This princess had no other ally than George II., Elector of Hanover and King of England. Two French armies, each forty thousand strong, entered Germany. The war commenced by great successes in favor of the allied powers. The Elector of Bavaria and the French threatened Vienna. Maurice of Saxony, then a lieutenant-general in the service of France, and Chevert took possession of Prague, where the Elector of Bavaria was proclaimed King of Bohemia. A month afterwards he was elected emperor at Frankfort, by the name of Charles VII.

In the meantime Maria Theresa convoked the states of Hungary. In response to her appeal, the Hungarian nobles, drawing their swords exclaimed, "We will die for our sovereign, Maria Theresa." Prompt results followed these words. An army was raised which retook Austria, invaded Bavaria, forced the Marquis of Ségur to capitulate at Lintz, and deprived the elector of all his states. The King of Sardinia had already renounced the league, and declared in favor of Maria Theresa. The King of Prussia in his turn treated with her, on obtaining the cession of Silesia and

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the French found themselves reduced in Bohemia to thirty thousand men, shut in between two armies. Prague was blockaded by the Austrians, and it was ultimately evacuated by the French, who retreated to Egra. Marshal Noailles received orders to watch on the Main the English and Hanoverian armies commanded by Lord Stair, and with which were also the English sovereign, George II., and his son, the Duke of Cumberland. The English troops were sorely pressed by famine and harassed by the movements of the marshal, who attacked them at Dettingen, in 1743. A sanguinary engagement ensued; the marshal was compelled to retreat and the English remained masters of the field of battle. In the meantime Marshal Broglie had been unable to maintain his position on the Danube against Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother of the Grand Duke Francis. Bavaria was evacuated, and it was impossible for Marshal Noailles, after Broglie's retreat, to maintain his position in Franconia, where he had, during two months, held the army of the allies in check. Such was the unfortunate conclusion of the campaign of 1743, which carried the war to the frontiers of France.

The Emperor Charles VII. no longer possessed any states, and he signed a treaty in 1743 by which he renounced all his pretensions to Austria, engaging himself, as well as the empire, to remain neutral during the continuance of the war, and leaving his hereditary possession, Bavaria, until a general peace, in the hands of Maria Theresa, whom he had endeavored to despoil, and who, by the Treaty of Worms, strengthened her alliance with England and the King of Sardinia.

The year 1744 saw the whole of Europe taking part in the war. Spain united her navy with that of France, and the two fleets, under Admiral Court and Joseph of Navaro, attacked Admiral Matthews, who was blockading the port of Toulon. The result was a drawn battle. Genoa, despoiled by the Treaty of Worms, declared itself against Austria; and Frederick II., anxious with respect to the safety of Silesia, promised to retake the field. According to the plan of campaign adopted by France, the chief effort was to be directed against the Low Countries, and a great part of Flanders had already been taken, when information was received that Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of eighty thousand men, had crossed the Rhine at Spire, that he had taken the lines of Weissenburg and had repulsed Marshal Coigny, who

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had been ordered to remain on the defensive in Alsace. It was now necessary to change the plan of the campaign, and accordingly Marshal Noailles moved upon the Rhine. Frederick now made a fresh expedition into Bohemia and Moravia, and within twelve days had forced the garrison of Prague, consisting of eighteen thousand men, to capitulate. Prince Charles left the Rhine in all haste, but was not able to prevent the evacuation of Bavaria by the Austrians and the invasion of Piedmont by the Prince and Don Philip. The emperor, Charles VII., for a third time entered Munich, his capital, worn out by chagrin and sickness, and died there in the following year (1745). His son, Maximilian Joseph, entered into negotiation with Maria Theresa, and promised his support to the Grand Duke Francis, her husband, whom she hoped to raise to the imperial throne. Louis XV., irritated at this pretension, continued the war.

He resolved to conduct the campaign with the greatest activity in Italy and Flanders and to keep his army in Germany on the defensive. Marshal Saxe invested Tournay, which was defended by a Dutch garrison, and an English army, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, made great efforts to raise the siege. In a battle that ensued near the village of Fontenoy, in 1745, the English, feebly supported by their Dutch and Austrian auxiliaries, were completely defeated. Twelve thousand English, wounded or slain, remained on the field of battle. A few days later Tournay was taken, while almost the whole of Flanders was occupied and its principal towns and cities became the prize of this important victory.

The French arms were no less fortunate in Italy under Marshal Noailles and the Infante Don Philip. All the Austrian possessions in Italy fell into the hands of the French, with the exception of a few fortresses, and the King of Sardinia found himself reduced to his capital. In Germany, however, the Austrians made head against the French, and recovered Frankfort, where on September 15 the Grand Duke Francis was proclaimed emperor. The King of Prussia had, three months previously, obtained a great victory at Hohenfriedberg, and the cession of the province of Glatz, which was annexed to Silesia, rendered this monarch neutral. Germany, Flanders, and Italy continued to be the scenes of a desperate war. The Austrians drove the French from Piedmont, seized Genoa, and invaded Provence. Genoa, subjected by them to a yoke of iron, heroically threw it off, and when it was again besieged Boufflers and

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Richelieu, flying successively to its assistance, secured its safety. Marshal Belleisle forced the Austrians to evacuate Provence, and Maurice of Saxony, victorious over Prince Charles at Rocoux, made the conquest of Brabant (1747). The sufferings of this war extended also to the east. La Bourdonnais, governor of the islands of France and Bourbon, besieged and took Madras, but Dupleix, governor-general of the establishments of the French East India Company, jealous of his brilliant colleague, and relying on secret orders previously received from France, refused to recognize the capitulation which La Bourdonnais had signed, and depriving him of his conquest, took possession of it himself. Denounced by Dupleix, La Bourdonnais on his return to France was loaded with chains in return for his glorious services, and was thrown into the Bastile. Dupleix then attempted to lay the foundations in India of a French empire, but he was supported neither by the company nor his government, and had to succumb after he had maintained during several years a most heroic struggle in a most unequal conflict.

A brilliant victory was gained at Lawfeld in 1747 by Maurice of Saxony over the Duke of Cumberland, which opened to that great general the road to Holland. The conquest of many cities was the result of this battle; Bergen-op-Zoom being among others taken by General Löwentahl. The English, on the other hand, inflicted terrible blows on the French fleet, which was destroyed in two engagements, one off Cape Finisterre and the other near Belle-Isle. France now sighed for peace, and Maurice of Saxony, as the best means of bringing it about, hastened to invest the city of Maestricht, whereupon the preliminaries of the much-desired peace were almost immediately signed at Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). By the terms of this peace the King of Prussia retained possession of his conquests; Don Philip, the brother of Don Carlos, obtained the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, and finally, the English recovered Madras in India, and in the New World gave up Louisburg and Cape Breton, but acquired the whole of Acadia. France restored Savoy to the King of Sardinia, the Low Countries to the Empress Maria Theresa, and to the Dutch all the places she had taken from them. By this war, which added twelve hundred millions to the French debt, Prussia alone gained a considerable increase of territory and influence, and suddenly became one of the great powers of the continent.

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1748-1756

Some salutary edicts were issued during the years which immediately followed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Among them was the famous Edict of Machault, the comptroller-general, authorizing the free commerce within the kingdom in grain, which had hitherto been subjected to a thousand shackles injurious to agriculture. Louis XV., in spite of his shameful debaucheries, was extremely scrupulous in respect to the outward observances of religion, and took an active part in the religious quarrels by which France was agitated. They were renewed with scandal by the intolerance of M. de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, who went so far as to order that extreme unction should be refused to dying persons suspected of adhering to the opinions condemned by the Bull Unigenitus. The Parlement, supported by public opinion, protested against this extreme measure, but the king's council enjoined respect for the bull as the law of the church and the state. Violent discussions followed between the Parlement and the archbishop, and, on the refusal of the sacrament to a nun, the temporalities of the prelate were seized. The king ordered the Parlement to stay its proceedings and exiled it. In its place a royal court was established. But the Chatelet, the criminal court of Paris, refused to acknowledge its authority, the advocates, attorneys, and registrars refused to obey it and the course of justice was thus interrupted during four months. The king perceived at length that he must effect a compromise, and on August 23, 1754, amid the rejoicings on the occasion of the birth of the Duke of Berry, who was the unfortunate Louis XVI., the Parlement, recalled to Paris, reëntered it amid the acclamations of the populace. But fresh collisions soon occurred between the king and clergy on the one hand and the Parlement on the other, and the latter refused to register the edicts for fresh taxes on the breaking out of a war with England. It then leagued itself with the other parlements of the kingdom against the great council, endeavoring to form of all the superior courts of the French magistracy one single body, which should be divided into different classes, and which should be sufficiently strong to resist the arbitrary measures of the court. On this the king, on December 13, 1756, had three edicts registered, the principal purport of which was to renew the injunction of respect to the Bull Unigenitus, to deprive every magistrate of less than ten years' standing of a deliberative voice, to enforce the registration of edicts after the permitted remonstrances of the Parlement, and to suppress the major portion of the courts

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of inquests and requests, the usual sources of the most violent measures.

These acts of royal power, and especially the last, struck the Parlement with dismay. The people encouraged the magistrates in their opposition to the court, and became exasperated to the highest pitch when it found that all but thirty-one members of the great chamber had given in their resignation. Such was the state of popular feeling in the capital when, on January 5, 1757, an unhappy wretch named Damiens slightly wounded the king at the gates of the palace of Versailles. This crime was attributed to the popular excitement caused by the violent opposition of the Parlement, and the magistrates trembled at the extent of their peril. Most of those who had sent in their resignations hastened to offer their services at Versailles and to protest their devotion. After the trial and execution of Damiens, Louis XV. endeavored to conciliate popular feeling. The greater number of the magistrates were recalled, and the Parlement resumed its habitual functions. The king's mistress, the Marquise of Pompadour, who was dismissed from the palace while the king considered himself in danger from his wound, returned in triumph, and Machault and Argenson were dismissed from the council.

At this period a general war had already broken out in the two worlds. The governments of France and England had long since ceased to exchange pacific assurances, while their agents were disputing in Asia and America for the possession of immense territories. Dupleix by his talents and courage had rendered France the ruler over thirty millions of men occupying the Deccan from the River Kristna to Cape Comorin. The English only possessed at that time the city of Madras with its environs, and a few fortresses, of which the principal was Fort Saint David. Dupleix had caused Chunda Sahib to be recognized as Nabob of the Carnatic, but a single city, Trichinopoly, had declared for his rival, Mahomet Ali, who was supported by the English. The troops of Chunda Sahib while besieging Trichinopoly were defeated by Robert Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, who laid the foundation of the English empire in India, and the Nabob himself was killed. Dupleix renewed the struggle for supremacy with success, but the French East India Company, finding its dividends decreasing, refused to support him in his efforts to win an eastern empire for France, while the French government, being anxious to avoid war with England, disavowed

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his proceedings, and ultimately recalled him to France. Dupleix had scarcely quitted the soil of India when an ignominious treaty, which was afterwards ratified in Europe, was concluded at Madras by the commissioners of the two governments in October, 1754, which stipulated that neither of the companies should interfere in the internal politics of India; that all places and territories occupied by them should be restored to the Grand Mogul, with the exception of those which they had severally possessed before the late war, and that all their possessions should be placed on a footing of perfect equality. Thus were lost in a few days the fruits of the profound policy and astonishing efforts of a great man. England inherited in the Indies all the influence of which France deprived herself, and she could now freely and fearlessly lay in the East the foundation of her future empire there.

The state of the things was not more propitious to the maintenance of peace in North America, where during the preceding hundred and fifty years England and France had founded considerable colonies. On the one hand, the boundaries of Acadia or Nova Scotia, ceded to England by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were ill defined, and on the other, the French, who were the possessors of Canada, had ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the lakes Erie and Ontario, and now wished, by means of a chain of strong forts on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, to connect their establishments in Canada with those which they had in Louisiana, while the British colonists of Virginia and New England demanded as a dependency of their territory the vast district to the south of the St. Lawrence, from the Alleghany or Blue Mountains to the banks of the Ohio. From these rival pretensions arose perpetual quarrels between the colonists of the two nations. Already, in 1754, a Virginian, Colonel George Washington, ordered to dislodge the French from Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, had been surrounded by a superior force in a place named Great Meadows, and had been forced to capitulate. Soon after, a body of twelve hundred troops sent by the English government, under the command of General Braddock, to the assistance of Virginia, was assailed, in 1755, while on its way to attack Fort Duquesne, by a troop of French and Indians, and Braddock himself, and seven hundred of his soldiers, perished. The sea was less propitious to the French arms. The squadron of Admiral Boscawen attacked a French division off Newfoundland, and took two vessels, and shortly afterwards, by an order of the English

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...s of war fell upon the French mercantile ...ured merchant vessels without any pre-

...es of the French court were frustrated in ...ength the king saw how he had sacrificed ... of an empire, by recalling Dupleix, and ... 's undertaking. His government de- ... the English government of the acts of ... had been guilty by the seizure of the ... Its complaints were treated with con- ... afterwards declared.

... out in 1756 between England and France ... whole of Europe, and its ravages extended ... Maria Theresa, hoping to recover Silesia, ... the Elector of Saxony, the King of Poland, and the King of Sweden. Louis ... to support her cause by the influence of ... and soon all the forces of the kingdom ... of Austria. This terrible and deplorable ... the name of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), ... circumstances favorable to France. An expedition ... Duke of Richelieu was dispatched to conquer Minorca, ... English had captured during the War of Succession. ... Byng was sent with an English fleet to the ... threatened island, but when he arrived off Minorca ... French were besieging the formidable citadel of St. Philip, ... which commands Mahon the capital of the island, and its magnificent port. The garrison, under General Blakeney, made an obstinate defence, hoping to be succored by Byng, but the English admiral, being worsted in an encounter with the French fleet, under Admiral Galissonière, and losing all hope of being able to relieve ..., abandoned it to its fate and sailed with his squadron for ... The French now redoubled their efforts, the garrison was compelled to capitulate and Minorca was won for France. Byng's defeat was imputed to treason, and, having been ... found guilty, he was shot.

... II. of Prussia, in reply to the new league formed ... hastened to invade Saxony, and took Dresden, from ... king of Poland was forced to fly. After defeating the ... at Lobositz, and compelling them to repass the Eger, he

MADAME DE POMPADOUR

"The most Parisian of the Parisiennes"

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admiralty, the English ships of war fell upon the French mercantile marine and took three hundred merchant vessels without any previous declaration of war.

Thus the pacific hopes of the French court were frustrated in every direction, and at length the king saw how he had sacrificed in the Indies the prospect of an empire, by recalling Dupleix, and abandoning that great man's undertaking. His government demanded an explanation of the English government of the acts of violence of which its navy had been guilty by the seizure of the French merchant ships. Its complaints were treated with contempt, and war was soon afterwards declared.

The war which broke out in 1756 between England and France speedily embraced the whole of Europe, and its ravages extended over the entire world. Maria Theresa, hoping to recover Silesia, formed an alliance with the Empress of Russia, the Elector of Saxony, who was also King of Poland, and the King of Sweden. Louis XV. was gained over to support her cause by the influence of Madame de Pompadour, and soon all the forces of the kingdom were placed at the disposal of Austria. This terrible and deplorable war, known under the name of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), commenced under circumstances favorable to France. An expedition under the Duke of Richelieu was dispatched to conquer Minorca, which the English had captured during the War of Succession in Spain. Admiral Byng was sent with an English fleet to the assistance of the threatened island, but when he arrived off Minorca the French were besieging the formidable citadel of St. Philip, which commands Mahon, the capital of the island, and its magnificent port. The garrison, under General Blakeney, made an obstinate defense, hoping to be succored by Byng, but the English admiral, being worsted in an encounter with the French fleet, under Admiral Galissonière, and, losing all hope of being able to relieve Minorca, abandoned it to its fate and sailed with his squadron for Gibraltar. The French now redoubled their efforts; the garrison was soon compelled to capitulate and Minorca was won for France. Admiral Byng's defeat was imputed to treason, and, having been tried and found guilty, he was shot.

Frederick II. of Prussia, in reply to the new league formed against him, hastened to invade Saxony, and took Dresden, from which the King of Poland was forced to fly. After defeating the Austrians at Lobositz, and compelling them to repass the Eger, he

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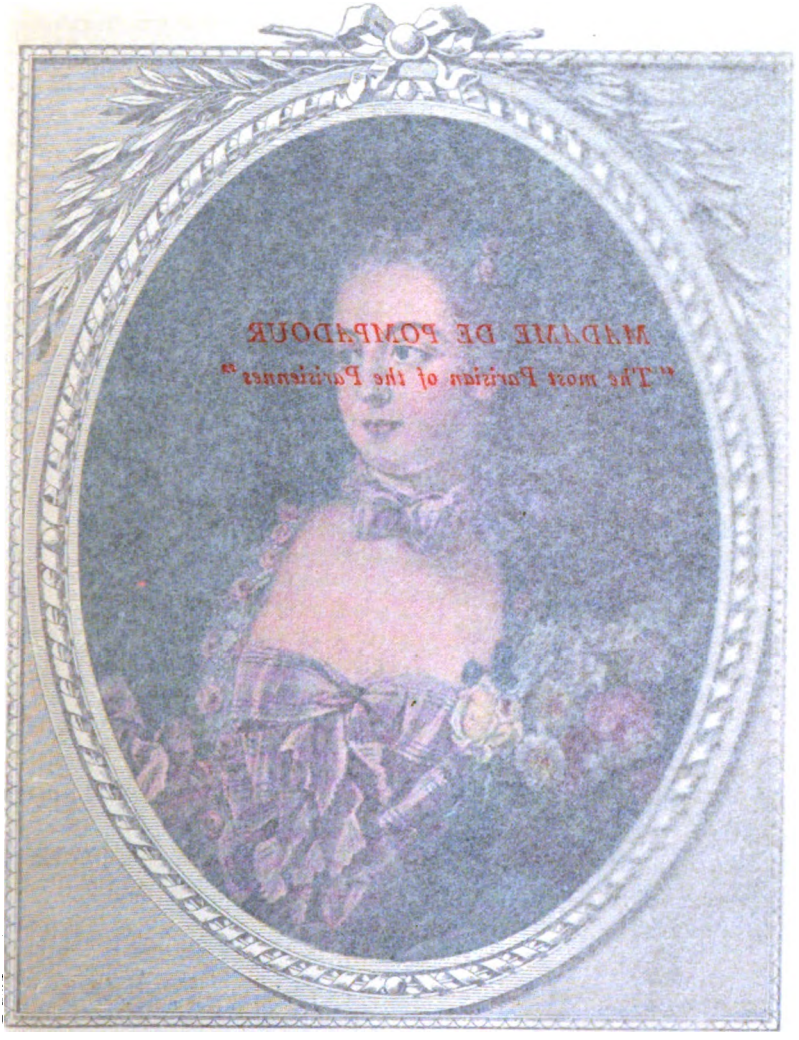

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hastened to Pirna, where the Saxon army was blockaded, and compelled it to capitulate. A body of French troops, under Marshal Estrées, entered Germany and threatened the electorate of Hanover, a possession of the King of England. Estrées vanquished Cumberland at Hastenbeck, and Marshal Richelieu, who had been sent to replace Estrées, forced Cumberland to sign the capitulation of Klosterseven (1757), which sent one portion of his army home, condemned another to inaction, and placed the electorate of Hanover at the mercy of France. Frederick, victorious over Prince Charles of Lorraine at Prague, was afterwards vanquished by Marshal Daun at Kolin, while his generals were everywhere defeated.

Overwhelmed by these reverses, and still more by the capitulation of the English at Klosterseven, surrounded by several armies in Saxony, and held in check by Marshal Daun, Frederick appeared to be without any resource, but he escaped the marshal with admirable skill, and boldly went to reconnoiter the French army commanded by Soubise, and that of the imperialists, which, united, were advancing to surround him. By a series of able maneuvers he induced Soubise to believe that he was anxious to avoid them, and drew him on to make an attack on him, when encamped in an advantageous position at Rossbach, in 1757. The French and imperialists were totally routed, and a great part of the attacking forces fled without fighting. Frederick took no repose after this unhoped-for victory, but, hurrying into Silesia, which was almost lost, won, against Prince Charles and Daun, the bloody battle of Leuthen, near Breslau. The English then broke the capitulation of Klosterseven, and the Hanoverian army reappeared under Ferdinand of Brunswick, its new commander, who asserted that he had nothing to do with this military convention. The Count of Clermont lost in the following year the battle of Crevelt, against Ferdinand of Brunswick, and was superseded by the Marquis of Contades: Soubise, and, under him, the Duke of Broglie, partly repaired, however, at Sonderhausen and at Lutterberg, the disasters of this bloody battle, and the French reëntered Hanover; but in 1759 Brunswick, vanquished by the Duke of Broglie at Bergen, vanquished in his turn the Marshal Contades at Minden in Westphalia. Frederick then fought with varied success against the Austrians and Russians. The most murderous battle of this campaign was that of Zorndorf, where thirty-three thousand men, of

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whom twenty-two thousand were Russians and eleven thousand Prussians, remained on the field of battle.

Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, was at this time at the head of the English Cabinet. He directed his attention to the colonies and gave fresh vigor to maritime operations. Quebec was taken by the English in 1759 and in the following year the whole of Canada was snatched from the grasp of France. In Africa the French lost Senegal, and in 1757 Chandernagore on the Ganges was taken from them. Count Lally, sent by Louis XV. to avenge the French defeats in India, seized Fort St. David, on the coast of Coromandel and razed its defenses, but differences which arose between him and the commander of the naval squadron, the Count of Aché, were fatal to the interests of France. England was at this time threatened by the descent upon her coasts of two French armies, under Chevert and the Duke of Aiguillon, which were to be protected by two French squadrons. The first of these, however, which was commanded by De la Clue, was destroyed by Admiral Boscawen off Cape St. Vincent, while two months later the second, under Marshal Conflans, underwent the same fate within sight of the coast of Brittany.

The campaign of 1760 was glorious in Germany for Marshal Broglie, who vanquished the hereditary Prince of Brunswick at Korbach, near Cassel, for the capture of which he was preparing. One of the corps of his army, commanded by the Marquis of Castries, took up its position near to Rhumberg, on the river bank, and being attacked by the prince, gained a brilliant victory which delivered Wesel. Frederick now escaped in Saxony from the numerous armies which surrounded him, and vanquishing successively Laudon at Liegnitz, and Daun at Torgau, retook Silesia. Pondicherry, whose inhabitants the governor, Lally, had alienated by his pride and despotism, fell in the course of this year into the hands of the English. The Count of Aché, who was called upon to relieve this place, did not appear, and seven hundred soldiers were all that remained for its defense. The town was taken and its fortifications razed, and Lally, returning to France, was accused of treason and paid for his defeat with his life.

The Duke of Choiseul, who was now minister of war, offered to make peace with George III., who had succeeded George II. on the English throne, but his overtures were rejected by the advice of Pitt. He then endeavored to secure the support of Spain, where Charles

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III. now reigned, and on August 16, 1761, his exertions were crowned by the signature of the celebrated Family Treaty, which stipulated that the various branches of the House of Bourbon should reciprocally assist each other and declared that the enemies of any one branch should be regarded as the enemies of the others.

On July 16, some days before the signature of the Family Treaty, Marshals Broglie and Soubise had been beaten by the Prince of Brunswick, at Filingshausen, near the Lippe, through a want of concert between them. The fault was attributed to the Duke of Broglie, who was banished and superseded by old Marshal Estrées.

In the meantime, closely pressed by the imperial army and the Russians, Frederick was driven to bay, when the death of the Empress Elizabeth, on January 2, 1762, released him from his perilous position. Elizabeth left her throne to Peter III., who was a passionate admirer of the King of Prussia, and who undoubtedly would have aided him, but he was dethroned, after a reign of six months, by his own wife, who assumed the crown by the name of Catherine II. Some days afterwards the unfortunate Peter III. was assassinated. The empress declared herself neutral and the results of the campaign of 1762, the last of this bloody war, left each party in the same state as before. England, France, Spain and Portugal then signed, on February 10, 1763, the Treaty of Paris, which was disgraceful to France. This power ceded to England a portion of Louisiana, Canada, and the island of Cape Breton. England retained Senegal, in Africa. In the East Indies each nation resumed possession of the territories it had held previous to the commencement of the war. The island of Minorca and Port St. Philip were restored to England, and France gave up to King George his electorate of Hanover. Peace was at the same time signed between the Empress Maria Theresa, the Elector of Saxony, and the King of Prussia. Frederick retained Silesia and Glatz, by promising his support to the son of Maria Theresa, the Archduke Joseph, who was selected as King of the Romans, and succeeded to the empire on August 18, 1765.

The last years of this war were signalized by the abolition of the order of the Jesuits in France. Their order was suppressed throughout the kingdom by an edict in 1764, which gave them permission to reside in France only as simple private persons. All the Bourbon courts declared themselves at the same time against

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the Jesuits, who were successively driven from Portugal, Spain, Naples, and Parma, and the total suppression of the order was ultimately procured at Rome from Clement XIV. (1773), who thus destroyed the firmest supports of the rights of the Papal court of Rome. Prussia and Russia were the only states who gave the Jesuits an asylum and protection.

Madame de Pompadour died in 1764 and was soon afterwards succeeded as mistress to Louis XV. by a woman of low origin, afterwards known as the Countess of Barry. In the course of the next four years the king lost the dauphin, the dauphine, his father-in-law, Stanislaus Leczinski, and the queen, Maria Leczinski, who only survived her father two years. By the death of Stanislaus Leczinski, Lorraine had become incorporated, in 1766, with France, and Corsica was also added to the French crown two years later, with the right, however, of regulating its own taxes.

The Seven Years' War added thirty-four millions of annual interest to the national debt. In each year the expenses exceeded the receipts by thirty-eight millions, and the taxes, which had enormously increased during the war, were not lessened at the peace. The Parlement of Paris endeavored to procure some relief for the public burdens, that of Besançon refused to register the royal edicts, and many of the opposing magistrates were exiled.

Disturbances broke out in various provinces, and especially in Brittany, where the Duke of Aiguillon, governor of the province, rendered himself odious by his stern and despotic administration. The parlement of Rennes took cognizance of the complaints which were brought against him, but they could obtain no satisfaction from the court, which lent a ready support to the duke. In defiance of justice and the efforts of the Parlement of Paris and the Duke of Choiseul, who espoused the cause of the magistracy, the opponents of Aiguillon were sent into exile. The Parlement protested in vain against this arbitrary punishment, and the Duke of Aiguillon acted with redoubled violence. He even had the boldness to present for acceptance by the states of Brittany a regulation which would have deprived them of the right of fixing and levying their own taxes. This produced a general outcry, and an address presented to the king caused the recall of the Duke of Aiguillon and the re-establishment of the parlement of Brittany in its integrity.

The first act of the restored parlement was to commence a prosecution of the Duke of Aiguillon, whom it accused of abuse of

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power and of enormous crimes. The king, in accordance with the suggestions of Chancellor Maupeou, first ordered that the Duke of Aiguillon should be tried by the court of peers and then, justifying the duke, determined that the whole process against him should be annulled. The parlement then issued a decree which attacked the duke's honor. The king annulled it. In 1770, the Duke of Choiseul, the most powerful of the supporters of the parlement, was disgraced and banished to his estate at Chanteloup, at the instigation of Madame du Barry. His dismissal was followed by the appointment of the Duke of Aiguillon to the ministry of foreign affairs, and had been preceded by that of Abbé Terray as comptroller-general of the finances. These two men formed, together with Chancellor Maupeou, a triumvirate celebrated for the revolution which it effected in the judicial order. On January 19, 1771, the members of the parlement were ordered to resume their functions, and in consequence of the unanimous refusal of the magistrates to do so, their offices were confiscated and they were sent into exile. Maupeou nominated in their place councilors of state and masters of requests, and then formed an assembly which had less resemblance to a judicial body, composed of the members of the great council and men taken from the various bodies in different classes, who henceforth composed the parlement. Two edicts were immediately issued which abolished the old parlement and established the new. The public wrath burst forth against a minister who tore from France, in the persons of her independent magistrates, the last guarantees against despotic power. All the princes of the blood, with a single exception, and thirteen peers of the kingdom lodged a protest against acts in which they saw the overthrow of the laws of the state. The provincial parlements made courageous remonstrances, especially those of Normandy and Brittany, raised complaints to which Maupeou replied by *lettres de cachet,* which sent the murmurers either into exile or to the Bastile. Maupeou, however, overcame all resistance by promising the gratuitous administration of justice, the abolition of the sale of offices, and the revisal of the criminal laws. At the close of 1771, in the space of less than a year, the new judicial arrangements were in force over the whole of the kingdom.

While Maupeou thus violently altered the French magisterial system, Abbé Terray ordered an arbitrary reduction of the dividends payable by the state, which was in fact a shameful act of bank-

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ruptcy. The taxes were at the same time raised to an exorbitant amount, and Terray destroyed the most glorious achievement of Machault—the law which authorized the free circulation of corn throughout the kingdom.

The duke of Aiguillon, minister for foreign affairs, and the third member of this triumvirate, at the same time allowed three powers to make a serious attack on the rights of peoples and the balance of power in Europe. Strong in her amity with Frederick II. and Maria Theresa, and the supine indolence of Louis XV., Catherine II. signed in 1772, with the courts of Prussia and Vienna, a treaty for the dismemberment of Poland. This preliminary division deprived the country of a third of its territory, and led to other treaties which effaced Poland from the number of independent nations.

Louis XV., utterly apathetic in the midst of these serious events, continued to present to the world an example of shameful debauchery and complete indifference to scandal. He had Madame du Barry publicly presented at court, and gave her a distinguished place at the table at which were present, for the first time after their marriage, his grandson, the dauphin, and his young spouse, Marie Antoinette of Austria. At length, worn out by ennui, weary of pleasure, and disgusted with all things, he died, 1774, of the small-pox in the sixty-fourth year of his life, and after a reign of fifty-nine years, which is one of the most deplorable recorded in history.

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PART IV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 1774-1799

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Chapter XV

THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY. 1774-1791

LOUIS XVI. ascended the throne on May 10, 1774, at the age of twenty. His morals were pure, his intentions upright and generous, but to complete inexperience he added a great want of decision of character. He chose as his first minister Maurepas, who recalled the old parlements, but knew not how to make them submit to useful and efficient reforms. They were reinstalled on November 12 and the minister, for the sake of procuring for the royal authority a fleeting popularity, raised up against it serious dangers in the future.

Maurepas, anxious for the support of public opinion, replaced Abbé Terray by Turgot, a man already famous for his reforms, as comptroller-general of the finances. In the following year Lamoignon of Malesherbes, a magistrate of the highest merit, and a friend of Turgot, was placed over the king's household, and entrusted with the *lettres de cachet,* no abuse of which was to be feared while they remained in his hands. The other influential members of the council were Hüe of Miromesnil, keeper of the seals, the Count of Saint Germain, minister of war, and Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs. Turgot planned extensive reforms and, devoting all his care to the promotion of the happiness of the people, undertook the suppression of a vast number of servitudes and burdensome privileges. He wished to make the privileged classes contribute to the taxes in the same proportion as the Third Estate and procured the issue of edicts which replaced the burdens that weighed heavily on the lower orders by a rate equally levied upon all classes, reëstablished free-trade in grain throughout the whole interior of the kingdom and abolished apprenticeships and corporations. The privileged classes burst forth into complaints and murmurs, the parlements refused to register these wise edicts and it was necessary to make use of the arbitrary power of the crown to enforce them.

Soon, jealous of the popularity enjoyed by Turgot, and of his

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influence over the king, Maurepas himself aroused enemies against the two ministers and alarmed the king with respect to the dangers that might arise from the spirit of the new system. Malesherbes sent in his resignation, but Turgot waited to be disgraced. The reforms were abandoned. Clugny, formerly governor of St. Domingo, and then Taboureau replaced successively, but without success, this great minister. After them the general management of the national finances fell into the hands of Necker, a Genevese banker, who succeeded Taboureau in 1777. Necker made good faith and probity the basis of his system, which consisted in the attempt to reduce the expenditure to a level with the receipts, to make the national taxes serve to defray the national expense in ordinary times, to have recourse to loans only when circumstances imperiously required them, and to have the taxes assessed by the provincial assemblies. Unfortunately the war with England forced France to resort to loans and rendered her financial situation extremely critical.

England, overburdened by debt after the peace in 1763, had endeavored to make her American colonies contribute to the taxes, and this the colonists, who were unrepresented in the British Parliament by which the taxes were regulated, refused to do. An open rupture soon took place and both sides resorted to arms. At length the congress of the revolted colonies published, in 1776, an act of independence, by which it constituted itself a free power and independent of the English rule. Diplomatic agents were immediately dispatched to the various courts of Europe, to obtain the recognition of the independence of the American colonies, and Benjamin Franklin was selected by his country to solicit the support of France against England. Louis XVI. hesitated for some time to enter upon hostilities, but at length, in 1778, after the memorable battle at Saratoga, in which the British General Burgoyne, at the head of six thousand men, was compelled to lay down his arms, France concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with the Americans. Whereupon England recalled her ambassador, and war was resolved on.

A fleet of twelve ships of the line, commanded by the Count of Estaing, made a vain attempt, in concert with Washington's army, to take Newport, in Rhode Island, one of the English arsenals. On July 27, 1778, in the same year, the French Admiral Orvilliers encountered Admiral Keppel at the entrance of the Channel. The

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two fleets, after fighting for a whole day, parted to refit, without having lost a single vessel on either side. This battle was at first celebrated in France as a brilliant victory. France concluded with Spain in the following year an alliance which doubled its naval strength. Admirals Orvilliers and Don Louis Cordova threatened a descent upon England, while the Count of Estaing seized, in the Antilles, the islands of St. Vincent and Granada. In concert with General Lincoln he made a rash attack upon Savannah, but, being repulsed with loss, he raised the siege and returned to France.

The war raged in every quarter of the globe. In Africa the French troops seized upon Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, but on the other hand the French establishments in Bengal fell into the hands of the English, and Pondicherry had to yield, forty days after the trenches had been opened against it.

In the following year, 1780, England found the number of its enemies still further increased. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark signed a declaration of armed neutrality, by which it was agreed that neutral powers should be at liberty to sail from port to port and on the coasts of the belligerent nations; and the merchandise belonging to neutrals should be free from capture; if not, northern powers announced that they would enforce respect for their declaration by warfare, if necessary. England, after having made a futile attempt to obtain the alliance of Holland, declared war upon the Dutch. The majority of the French ministry was at this time composed of men of merit and talent. Vergennes made the kingdom respected abroad; Ségur and Castries, soldiers worthy of high esteem, carried on the war with energy, and Necker afforded the king the means of continuing it. His celebrated "*compte rendu*" of January, 1781, claimed an excess of ten millions of receipts over the expenditure; but Maurepas, offended by the unanimous praises lavished on Necker, maligned him to the king, and the eminent financier, perceiving that he no longer possessed his sovereign's confidence, sent in his resignation, which was accepted on May 19.

In July, 1780, a French army numbering six thousand men had disembarked at Rhode Island under the Count of Rochambeau. The English, however, succeeded in blockading the port at which the French had disembarked, and thus till the close of the year rendered their assistance almost useless. General Gates was beaten at Camden, in South Carolina, by Lord Cornwallis, and the whole of that province was consequently lost. France now advanced to

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the United States, on the simple word of Congress, the large sum of sixteen million francs, and the French, under Admiral de Grasse, set sail for the Antilles, in March, 1781. Rochambeau had now joined Washington, and the powerful assistance rendered by France enabled the latter to bring the campaign and the war to a close by the investment of Yorktown, in which, after having become enfeebled with incessant conflicts with the American troops under Greene, the English forces under Cornwallis had entrenched themselves. The investment was completed by land, by Washington and Rochambeau, on September 28, while the sea was shut against the English by the fleet under Admiral de Grasse. On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis found it necessary to capitulate, and surrendered, with eight thousand men.

The Duke of Crillon having captured Minorca in 1781, undertook in the following year the siege of Gibraltar, which was closed against Admiral Howe by the fleets of France and Spain. Floating batteries were constructed for the purpose of bombarding the fortress, which was defended by the brave General Eliott, but they were set on fire by a storm of shells and redhot shot. A few days after, Admiral Howe, taking advantage of the dispersion of the French fleet by a gale, succeeded in entering the port and revictualed the fortress, the siege of which was abandoned. In the same year a naval engagement, which ended disastrously for France, took place in West Indian waters, near the island of St. Lucia, between the French and English fleets under De Grasse and Rodney. The battle took place on April 12, 1782, and lasted ten hours. Rodney, favored by the wind, boldly broke through the French line, and by this able maneuver secured the victory. The French fought with the utmost heroism, but the admiral's flagship, the *Ville de Paris,* attacked by seven vessels, was compelled to strike, and De Grasse himself was taken prisoner. Out of the fleet of thirty-three vessels six were lost in the course of the action, two others foundered on the following day, and five which were captured by the enemy had suffered so greatly that they sank before reaching the British ports; among these was the *Ville de Paris.*

India had been during four years the scene of a sanguinary war. The English, in 1778, had taken Pondicherry from the French. Their allies, Hyder Ali Khan, Sultan of Mysore, and his son Tippoo Sahib, who had marched too late to the relief of the French settlement, attacked the English possessions in the Carnatic,

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from which they were compelled to withdraw by Sir Eyre Coote after having done much injury.

The French fleet, the arrival of which had been long announced, appeared at length at the commencement of 1782 on the coast of Coromandel. It was commanded by Suffren, one of the greatest seamen of whom France can boast. His presence reanimated the hopes of Hyder Ali, who still meditated, by means of a league between all the native princes, the expulsion of the English from Hindustan. His death put a sudden end to these projects; the formidable Sultan of Mysore expired at the close of 1782, leaving his throne to his son Tippoo Sahib. Suffren in the meantime pursued his glorious career on the coast of Coromandel, Tippoo Sahib seconding his operations by land. After vanquishing the English General Matthews, he hastened to the relief of Gondelour, besieged by the English, and encountered, within sight of the city, the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes. Although Suffren had but fifteen vessels against eighteen, he gained the advantage, and Gondelour was saved. Peace was at length signed at Versailles, September 3, 1783, between England on the one part, and France, Spain, and the United States, whose independence was recognized by it, on the other. England restored to France in America the isles of St. Lucia and Tobago, and in India, Pondicherry, and guaranteed to her in Africa the possession of the river Senegal and its dependencies; and on the coast of Malabar, Mahé and an establishment at Surat. England did not conclude peace with Tippoo Sahib until the following year.

Maurepas died shortly after the disgrace of Necker. The deficit of the treasury had increased during the war, and it was in vain that, for the purpose of decreasing it, Louis XVI. gave an example by relinquishing a portion of his household and his guard, for no one followed it. Joly of Fleury and Ormesson succeeded Necker in turn without being able to discover a remedy for this, and Calonne followed them, in 1783, in the management of the finances. This man adopted a system directly opposed to that of Necker, endeavoring to strengthen the government credit by prodigality. A lavish expenditure of money at first supported his system, and punctuality in payments for a certain time deceived capitalists, but after the peace he made numerous loans, and exhausted credit and then, when forced to allow the enormous difference which existed between the expenditure and receipts, he insinuated that the fault was due to

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the proceedings of his predecessor, Necker, who was exiled. The refusal of the parlements to register either tax or loan edicts forced Calonne to resort to reform measures. He proposed to increase the revenus of the state by abolishing the privileges of the clergy and nobility in matters of taxing. Knowing that the parlements would not register such edicts unless pressure were brought to bear upon them, he sought to win the support of public opinion by laying his plans, in 1787, before an assembly of notables and asking their support. This body, composed of members of the privileged orders, was naturally unwilling to be taxed. It denied the necessity of increased taxes, and in the struggle that followed Calonne was driven from office.

He was succeeded, in 1787, by Loménie of Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, who adopted most of the measures proposed by Calonne to the notables. This assembly separated after having approved the creation of provincial assemblies, to superintend taxation in their several provinces, and devote attention to the public works and the improvement of agriculture. These assemblies, elected by the three orders, but containing a double number of representatives from the Third Estate, carried on their functions successfully from 1787 to 1790, when the new division of France into departments took place. The tax edicts rejected by the notables were presented to the Parlement of Paris, which refused to register them, and declared the States-General alone competent to decide in the matter of taxes. Registration was enforced, however, by the government, but at the same time Louis XVI. promised the annual publication of an account of the finances, and the convocation of the States-General before five years. The magistrates protested against the violence to which they had been subjected, but the government would not yield. The Parlement was exiled to Troyes on August 15, but recalled on September 20, on the tacit understanding that it would consent to edicts creating a series of gradual and successive loans up to the amount of four hundred millions. A royal session was appointed for November 19. The votes were taken, and the oldest magistrates were in favor of the registration of the last edicts. It appeared certain that there would be a majority in favor of the edicts, when the new keeper of the seals, Lamoignon, persuaded Louis XVI. to order the edicts registered by his express command. The king did so in spite of all remonstrance and then left the chamber. When the king had departed, the agitation of the

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assembly became extreme, and the session was terminated by a decision that the Parlement would take no part in the illegal registration of the edicts relative to the loans. The king ordered that this decision should be erased from the registers, but its protest was reiterated by the Parlement, which was supported by public opinion and the whole of the French magistracy in its struggle with the government.

Brienne perceived that it was only possible to overcome the resistance of the parlements by suppressing those courts, and in conjunction with Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, he persuaded the king to agree to a plan which destroyed the political authority of the magistracy. By this scheme an assembly of the principal persons of the kingdom was to be constituted, endowed with all the authority of the plenary courts of the time of Charlemagne. This court was to regulate the general police laws, and the edicts, which were no longer to be submitted to the parlements, the judicial functions of which were henceforth to be limited. The magistrates heard of this threatening project with the greatest indignation, invoked the fundamental although unwritten laws of the kingdom, demanded the regular convocation of the States-General, protested against arbitrary imprisonments, and decreed their own inviolability. Brienne immediately obtained from the king an order for the arrest of two of the magistrates who were most prominent in their opposition, Duval of Eprémesnil and Montsabert. Their arrest excited a universal indignation, but on May 8 the edicts in question were registered and a court possessed of plenary powers was established. The excitement of public opinion continued to increase. It was declared that the members of the new tribunal were connected with the court and that to bestow upon it the right of registration was equivalent to placing the public fortunes solely at the mercy of the ministers. The provinces of Brittany, Bearn and Dauphinè distinguished themselves among all by the energy of their resistance. The parlement of Rennes protested, and was threatened with forced dissolution. Civil war appeared imminent in Brittany and the disturbances in Bearn were no less serious. The mountaineers descended armed into the town of Pau, forced the gates of the Palace of Justice, which had been closed by the king's orders, and, terrified by their threatening cries, the governor himself entreated the parlement to assemble. In Dauphiné the disorders were even greater. All the provinces were

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in a state of agitation and almost everywhere the privileged classes, for the sake of preserving their own privileges, gave to the masses of the people a dangerous example of resistance and insurrection. Brienne, not knowing what measures to adopt, convoked an assembly of the clergy and asked of it pecuniary assistance, which was refused with a strongly worded declaration against the plenary court. Then, perceiving that the deficit in the treasury increased day by day and that there were no means of replenishing it, he endeavored to seduce the nation by promises, and to acquire a right to its gratitude by issuing a decree (August 8, 1788), directing the assembling of the States-General for May 1, 1789, and suspending until then the action of the plenary court. These concessions were received without thanks and only increased the determination with which what he refused was demanded. The minister, to maintain his position, now descended to the lowest expedients. He seized the funds of the Invalides, issued government paper for the state payments, and vainly endeavored to conceal a bankruptcy by this disastrous measure. Brienne was resolved, at any price, to remain in power, but a court intrigue overthrew him. Jealous of his influence with the queen, Madame de Polignac declared herself his enemy, and the Count of Artois, the king's second brother, demanded his dismissal. The king dismissed Brienne, in 1788, and recalled Necker. The parlements resumed the exercise of their functions, and the edicts were annulled.

Necker, having resumed the direction of affairs, was enabled, through the confidence he enjoyed with capitalists, to procure sufficient funds for the opening of the States-General. But, skillful as he was as a financier, this minister was not equal, as a politician, to the task of grappling with the perilous circumstances by which France was now surrounded. He long hesitated to grant to the Third Estate a double representation—that is to say, a number of deputies equal to those of the two privileged orders together—and this vast question being undecided, became in every portion of the kingdom the subject of the most vehement discussions. It excited universal agitation, inflamed the passions of the middle classes, and enabled those who had the greatest interest in obtaining the double representation of the Third Estate to acquire the greatest influence over public opinion. Such was the state of things in France when, on September 27, 1788, the Parlement of Paris registered the edict which convoked the States-General, but decided that the

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States-General should be called according to the form used at the time of their last assembly in 1614. The deputies at that period were equal in number for each class, and as they gave their votes, not individually, but by order, the result of the votes was necessarily in favor of the privileged classes. Necker's system was to make the latter contribute, in proportion to their fortunes, to the expenses of the state; and to procure the adoption of this system it was necessary that the deputies of the Third Estate should be double in number to those of the representatives of the two other orders, and that the votes should be taken individually. The public had declared almost universally in favor of this opinion, and the clause added by Parlement to the edict on September 27 deprived it at once of almost all its popularity. The nobility itself became divided into two parties, of which one energetically supported the cause of the Third Estate. The other, which numbered in its ranks the Duke of Orleans and most of the gentlemen who had fought in America, formed in all the principal towns associations for the purpose of securing the triumph of this cause. The moment of the crisis drew near when the king convoked the second assembly of the notables, to which was submitted the question as to how the States-General should be convoked. It commenced its sittings on November 9, 1788, and, as had been the case with the preceding one, divided itself into seven committees, one of which alone—that presided over by Monsieur the king's brother—declared in favor of the double representation of the Third Estate. At last Louis XVI. decided that the deputies of the Third Estate should be equal in number to those of the other orders together, but left the question of the general method of deliberation in abeyance. This declaration was received with favor, although it left the question of the greatest importance undecided. The Third Estate now perceived its strength. It reckoned with good reason on the support of a portion of the nobility and the clergy, and foresaw that it would be able to control the method of deliberation.

The States-General commenced their session on May 4, 1789, at Versailles. The first and most important question to be decided was, whether the votes should be received by orders or individually. By the adoption of the first method the deputies of the Third Estate would have lost the advantage of their numbers. The court, most of the nobility, and many of the clergy considered it of the highest importance that each order should vote separately

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on all political questions, but the opinions of some of the nobles, and all the curés among the deputies of the clergy, were very similar to those of the Third Estate, and the unanimity of opinion and numerical strength of the latter gave it an immense advantage. The latter proceeded to verify their powers, after having invited the nobility and clergy to verify theirs in common with them, and then, at the instigation of Sièyes, they constituted themselves on June 17 a national assembly. This assembly, consisting of the deputies of the Third Estate, sanctioned the temporary levying of existing taxes, consolidated the public debt, nominated a committee of "subsistences," and proclaimed the inviolability of its members. The general excitement was extreme when, on June 20, a royal session was announced and under pretense of necessary preparations an order was given to close the hall in which the States held their sittings. The violent measures proposed by the court were now evident, and the deputies resolved to prevent their being carried into execution. They followed their president, Bailly, to a neighboring tennis court, and there, with one exception, unanimously swore, with raised hands, that they would not separate until they had bestowed a constitution upon France. Two days afterwards the majority of the clergy joined the deputies of the commons in the church of St. Louis, where they had provisionally assembled. Terrified at the immense power over public opinion acquired by the Third Estate by its first proceedings, the party opposed to Necker inspired Louis XVI. with its own terrors and persuaded him to annul the decrees of the assembly, to command the separation of the orders, and to decide alone upon all the reforms which were to be effected by the States-General.

Such were the preludes to the royal session which took place on June 23. The king was received by a portion of the deputies in silence. He annulled the acts of the Third Estate and commanded the orders to meet on the following day in their separate halls. In spite of the promises contained in a declaration of thirty-five articles, conceding many of the demands made by the coheirs, the Third Estate saw in this action of the government only an attempt to protect the privileged classes and to prevent the formation of a constitution that should be a real check upon the arbitrary power of the ministers. After the departure of the king the members of the nobility and most of the clergy withdrew, but the commons retained their seats. The assembly persisted in maintain-

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ing all its resolutions and, on the motion of Mirabeau, decreed the inviolability of all its members. From thenceforth the royal authority was at an end. The greater number of the deputies of the clergy resumed their seats in the assembly. The nobility persisted in their refusal to do so, in spite of the remonstrances of Count Clermont of Tonnerre and the more vigorous exhortations of Lally-Tollendal, the son of the unfortunate General Lally. These men wisely advocated a concession to popular feeling and the necessity of granting to the Third Estate and the millions that its members represented the proportion of rights which justly belonged to them. The nobility, however, refused to listen, but on June 25 forty-seven members of the nobility, with the Duke of Orleans at their head, joined the Third Estate; the majority of the clergy had presented itself in the hall of the Estates on the preceding day. The fusion of the three orders, however, in a single assembly was not yet complete, and as this circumstance produced an extreme state of agitation, Necker again advised union. The queen and many influential persons supported his views. Louis XVI. yielded, and after June 27 the clergy, the nobility, and the Third Estate formed only one assembly, which was indiscriminately named the national and later the constituent assembly. The deliberations were henceforth general and the distinction between the orders became extinct.

All moral authority having passed from the monarch to the assembly, the advisers of Louis XVI. imprudently persuaded him to have recourse, too late, to force. Troops were assembled in large bodies around Versailles; Necker was exiled; Marshal Broglie, Galissonnière, the Duke of La Vauguyon, Baron Breteuil, and the intendant Foulon were appointed ministers. All of them were imbued more or less with the views of the court. The approach of the troops and the exile of Necker produced a great feeling of excitement in Paris. Camille Desmoulins, a young and ardent Paris lawyer, harangued the populace in the garden of the Palais Royal and exhorted them to rush to arms. The crowd replied with acclamations, and he proposed that a patriotic color should be adopted—green, the symbol of hope. The orator fastened a green sprig in his hat and his example was followed by the crowd. It was the first cockade of the revolution. Thence the mob ran to a sculptor's studio to obtain the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans, which were veiled with crape and borne through the streets of Paris. A tumult took place, the troops refused to act, the barriers were set

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on fire, and many houses were pillaged. The national assembly, after having in vain attempted to bring about an understanding between itself and the court, unanimously decreed the responsibility of the ministers and all the king's councilors, of whatever rank they might be, voted expressions of sympathy with Necker and the other disgraced ministers, placed the public debt upon the protection of French honor, and constituted itself a permanent assembly. The Archbishop of Vienne was its president, and Lafayette was elected its vice president. The populace of Paris, excited by the hostile attitude of the court, was eager to follow up its first successes, and demanded arms. A committee of electors sitting at the Hôtel de Ville organized the municipal guard, which it raised to the number of forty-eight thousand men and gave it a blue and red cockade, the colors of the city. "To the Bastile! to the Bastile!" became the cry of the excited populace, and the siege of the Bastile was immediately commenced. The French guards revolted, aided the mob with cannon, and secured the capture of the citadel, the feeble garrison of which surrendered. The people, bearing on their pikes the bleeding trophies of their triumph, returned with immense uproar to the Hôtel de Ville, and speedily signalized their victory by assassinations. The movement spread throughout France. Everywhere the municipal guards were organized, and the middle class assumed control of the city governments. France had armed itself to support the assembly. The representatives of the royal government in the provinces abandoned their posts and a period of decentralization, accompanied by a certain amount of disorder, followed.

The court at first regarded the insurrection of Paris as a riot. It was proposed to dissolve the assembly, and to give to Marshal Broglie, the commander of the army, unlimited power. Subsequently the king gave way before the serious aspect of affairs, and proceeded in person to the assembly. The deputies at first remained perfectly mute in the monarch's presence, but when he said that he was but one with the nation and that the troops should be withdrawn, loud applause burst forth, and the assembly, rising, reconducted the king to his palace. Louis XVI., perceiving the necessity of appeasing the capital, announced that Necker should be recalled and that he would proceed on the following day to Paris, where Bailly had been appointed mayor and Lafayette commander of the civic guard. It was by them that the monarch was received.

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Louis entered the Hôtel de Ville unaccompanied by guards, received the cockade of the city amid the acclamations of the multitude, and did not return to Versailles until he had sanctioned the acts of the people. But to sanction such acts, and to recognize, as he did, authorities elected without royal warrant, whose avowed office it was to limit his own power, was in itself to abdicate. And now commenced the first emigration. The Count of Artois, the king's second brother, the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Polignac family gave the example and left France. The return of Necker to Paris was a triumph for him, but it was also the last day of his prosperity. He endeavored to save Bezenval, the second in command of the troops, and a prisoner in the hands of the people; and, by proposing an amnesty, at once lost all his popularity. Thenceforth he endeavored, but in vain, to struggle against the revolution. The insurrectionary movements in Paris extended to the provinces. Everywhere the people formed themselves into municipalities and national guards. Armed men pillaged and burned the castles of the nobility in all parts of France. The assembly hoped to calm this fury and in part to remove its cause by abolishing the most detested privileges, and proceeded to effect this reform on the celebrated night of August 4. Viscount Noailles gave the signal for sacrifices by proposing the redemption of the feudal rights and the suppression of villein services. Abuses and privileges were suppressed; votes were passed for the redemption of the tithes and their conversion into a pecuniary tax, for the suppression of exclusive hunting rights, the abolition of seigneurial justices, the sale of magisterial offices, and the inequality of taxation. On this memorable night all Frenchmen were rendered equal in the eye of the law and all were declared equally admissible to all offices and employments, without any other distinction than that which might be bestowed by virtue or talent.

Royal power, practically suspended, was at this time largely exercised by the national assembly. It adopted a declaration of the rights of man, drawn up in the spirit of the celebrated declaration of the American congress, which served as an introduction to the constitution. Louis XVI. hesitated to accept it, and only did so with regret. The assembly decreed the permanence of the legislative body, and it was resolved that it should consist of a single chamber. It then remained to be determined what part in the legislature should be possessed by the king—whether he should have the power of re-

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jecting the resolutions of the assembly, or merely of expressing a suspensive veto. This question was the subject of the most violent debates. Paris was still in a state of great agitation. The assembly of electors, which had formed a provisional municipality, had been superseded. A hundred and eighty members, nominated by the districts, had constituted themselves legislators and representatives of the commune, while the committees of the sixty districts of Paris, from whom they received their authority, also assumed a legislative power and one superior to that of their proxies. The mania for public discussions had become general; clubs of every description were formed throughout the city; the discussion on the royal veto created the most violent excitement. The ministry, terrified at the menacing demonstration of the multitude, advised the king to abandon the unlimited veto for the suspensive veto. The assembly then decided that the refusal of the monarch's sanction should have no effect beyond two sessions, and then despoiled the throne of the little that remained of its former prestige. The king was advised to seek a refuge in the midst of his army, but he refused to do so. The regiment of Flanders, however, was brought to Versailles and the adversaries of the new régime felt some return of confidence. The officers of the newly-arrived regiment were fêted by the officers of the king's bodyguard in the theater of the chateau, in the presence of the king and queen. Healths were drunk to the royal family and it was believed that the tricolored cockade, the national emblem, was trampled under foot. Such was the famous banquet of October 1, the consequences of which were to be fatal to the royal family. When this was known in Paris it occasioned a most formidable rising of the masses. A multitude of women marched to Versailles on October 5, and a conflict had already taken place between it and the royal bodyguard, when Lafayette arrived at the head of the national guard of Paris, and by his presence restored order. Early on the morning of the 6th, however, some of the populace forced their way into the palace, killed some of the king's bodyguard and broke into the chamber of the queen, from which she had just fled. Lafayette, aided by the guards of Paris, succeeded in preventing the commission of any further crimes. The multitude demanded with loud cries that the king should appear, and Louis XVI. showed himself on the balcony of the château. The crowd applauded, but vehemently demanded that the king should set out for Paris. Louis

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XVI. yielded to this demand also, and on the same day proceeded thither with his family, escorted by his guards and accompanied by the national guards and the armed populace of Paris. The principal result of this event was to place the court at the mercy of the multitude, and it filled with horror and affright all those who dreaded, with good reason, a mob government, and made many members of the national assembly abandon it, and endeavor to raise the provinces, to which they severally belonged, against the national assembly. This led the assembly, which considered that the provinces were too vast and independent to be trusted with self-government, and required to be brought under a uniform mode of administration, to adopt, in December, 1789, a plan for the division of France into eighty-three departments, of almost equal extent. Each department was divided into districts, and each district into cantons. They were to be governed in a uniform manner. Each department and district had an administrative council and an executive directory, those of the district being subservient to those of the department. The canton, composed of five or six communes, was a simple electoral division. The administration of the commune was confided to a municipality consisting of a number of members proportioned to the population. It was this division of France into small portions which rendered Paris the burning focus of all ambitions and all intrigues, as it was that of all power. There was no longer any center of action left to counterpoise the despotism of the capital; the life of the nation was drawn more and more from its extremities and Paris absorbed France.

Some large provinces attempted to repel an organization so opposed to their interests and destructive of their privileges, but the provincial states and parlements protested in vain and were suppressed. To the resistance of these was also added that of the clergy, whom the assembly deprived of their property to meet the necessities of the state. The deficit was immense, and as the taxes produced scarcely anything, and it was almost impossible to obtain loans, the assembly turned to the immense possessions of the clergy as the only resource which could supply the existing necessities. Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, proposed to the clergy to give up their possessions, valued at many hundreds of millions, for the benefit of the nation, which would employ them in the payment of its debt and the support of religion. The clergy refused, and thereupon the assembly declared that the nation on taking on itself

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the maintenance of public worship might repossess itself of what was really its own property. The public expenses required in this first year four hundred millions. State notes were issued to the amount of this sum, the currency of which was enforced by law, and which were secured by the gross property of the clergy. Such was the origin of the assignats. This violent spoliation of the clergy and subsequent suppression of the religious orders was speedily followed by the fatal vote creating the civil constitution of the clergy. This vote established a bishopric in each department, gave to the people the right of electing bishops and curates, and allotted to ecclesiastics salaries in the room of the property which they had formerly possessed and which the nation had seized. A schism now took place in this order, many of its deputies immediately abandoning the assembly and joining the dissenting noblemen. The assembly next drew over the army to the cause of the revolution by declaring that military rank and promotion should be independent of titles of nobility. It abolished all these titles and organized the judicial body on a new basis. It established a criminal tribunal for each department, a civil tribunal for each district, a justice of the peace for each canton, and, following the English example, it introduced juries in the criminal trials. It rendered all magisterial offices temporary and conferable by election, in the same manner as the political and administrative ones, and based its whole legislation, in short, on the principle of the sovereignty of the people. The king was allowed to retain the initiative in respect to questions of peace or war, but the final decision upon them was reserved for the legislative assembly.

As the anniversary of the capture of the Bastile approached it was resolved to celebrate it with extraordinary brilliancy in the Champ de Mars, where Talleyrand, the Bishop of Autun, celebrated a solemn mass on a vast altar. Lafayette, as commander-in-chief of the national guards of the kingdom, advanced first of all to take the civic oath, and was followed by all the deputies sent from the eighty-three departments, amid the roar of artillery and prolonged cries of *"Vive le Roi! Vive la nation!"* Louis XVI. then arose and said: "I, king of the French, swear to use all the power which is delegated to me by the constitution of the state, to maintain the constitution decreed by the national assembly and accepted by me." The populace burst forth into enthusiastic acclamations. Party intrigues were renewed on the following day.

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Necker sent in his resignation on September 4, 1790. A great number of the nobility emigrated and the spirit of insurrection made progress among the people and in the army. The creation of clubs multiplied the seeds of agitation and precipitated France towards anarchy. The clubs at first were private assemblies, without any political authority, in which the members discussed the affairs of the nation. The first formed with this object was that of the Breton deputies, at Versailles, and called the "Breton Club." After the assembly removed to Paris in October, some of its members formed the club of "The Friends of the Constitution," which was held at the ancient convent of the Jacobins, whence it received its name, "Jacobin Club." But this club soon extended its views, and desired to exercise an influence over the assembly, the municipality and the populace. Its members formed alliances with similar associations in the provinces, and raised by the side of the legal power one which was still more powerful and which successively overruled and destroyed it. The emigration continued. The king's aunts left France, and Louis XVI., who was suspected of wishing to join them, was arrested by the people and detained in Paris at the moment when he was preparing to quit the capital for Saint Cloud. The assembly, while proclaiming the inviolability of the monarch, declared that his flight from the kingdom would lead to the forfeiture of his throne. And now the deputies having destroyed all privileges and completed the constitution according to their own idea, became terrified at the immense void which they had created around the throne, and manifested a more monarchical tendency, being led to do so chiefly by Mirabeau, who endeavored to stem the rising tide and tried to exert his influence in favor of the court. He succeeded in procuring the rejection of a violent decree against the emigrants, on the ground that it was an infringement of personal liberty, and died soon after, in 1791, regretted by all parties in the nation.

The sullen murmurs of the storm already began to be heard on the frontier. The emigrants petitioned all Europe to assist them against France, and formed two bodies, the one under Condé at Worms and the other under the Count of Artois at Coblentz. But Louis was anxious to restore the monarchy by his own exertions, and for this purpose he endeavored to reach Montmedy, to join the army under the command of Bouillé. On the night of June 20, 1791, the royal family left the Tuileries in disguise, passed the

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barriers of Paris without interruption and immediately proceeded by the road leading to Châlons and Montmedy. On receiving information of this event, the assembly immediately assumed the executive authority, assured the various powers of its pacific intentions and sent commissioners to the troops to receive their oaths of fidelity in its own name. After a short interval news arrived of the king's arrest at Varennes, and soon after he was brought into Paris, where he was received in sinister silence. The question then was whether Louis XVI. should continue to reign or should be declared dethroned. The assembly, at the instigation of Barnave, declared that it was not competent to try Louis XVI. or to pronounce his dethronement, but at the same time, for the sake of calming the popular excitement, it decreed that the king would have abdicated *de facto,* and have ceased to be inviolable if he should wage war against the nation, or suffer it to be done in his name. This decree irritated the populace. The agitators prepared a petition in which they appealed to the sovereignty of the people, and spoke of Louis XVI. as having ceased to reign since his flight. This was carried on July 17 to the Champ de Mars, to the "altar of the country," where Danton and Camille Desmoulins harangued an immense crowd, and excited them to insurrection. The peril now became imminent, and the assembly directed the municipality to watch over the public safety. Lafayette and Bailly proceeded to the Champ de Mars at the head of a numerous body of national guards and were compelled to order the soldiers to fire on the mob in order to disperse them.

These deplorable dissensions led the adversaries of the revolution to the committal of imprudent acts. Monsieur assumed at Brussels the title of regent. The emperor and the King of Prussia met at Pilnitz, where they signed, at the risk of compromising the king whom they wished to defend, the treaty of August 27, 1791. In this they declared "that they regarded the present situation of his majesty the King of France as a matter of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe. They trust that this interest will not fail to be recognized by the powers, whose aid is solicited, and that in consequence they will not refuse to employ, in conjunction with their majesties, the most efficient means in proportion to their resources to place the King of France in a position to establish, with the most absolute freedom, the foundations of a monarchical form of government, which shall at once be in harmony with the rights

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of sovereigns and promote the welfare of the French nation." It was a perfectly harmless document, as the coöperation of the other powers of Europe, upon which its execution depended, could not be hoped for. It was a mere sop to the Count of Artois and the emigrants. In the meantime the end of the term of office of the assembly drew near. A fatal decree, which had been passed before the departure of the king for Varennes, had interdicted any of the members from forming a portion of the next assembly. It was in this way that the guidance of the revolution was given over to new and inexperienced men.

Before dissolving, the assembly condensed its constitutional decrees into a single code, declaring that France had a right to review its constitution, but that it would be prudent not to use this right before thirty years. The king accepted the constitution without reserve, and on September 29, 1791, he closed the assembly with some touching words, which were received by it with acclamations and every testimony of respect and love. Then Thouret, addressing the assembly, pronounced these words: "The constituent assembly declares that its mission is accomplished, and that at this moment it terminates its sessions."

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Chapter XVI

THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY. 1791-1792

THE court, the nobility, and the clergy had little influence over the new elections, which were conducted simply in accordance with the popular will, and the assembly opened its session on October 1, 1791. The parties into which it was divided did not fail to become speedily apparent. The right, composed of men firmly attached to the constitution, formed the Feuillant party. It was supported by the club of that name, by the national guard and the army, but it speedily yielded the important affairs of the municipality to its adversaries of the left, which composed the Girondist party, at the head of which shone the celebrated orators of the Gironde, from which it took its name, Vergniaud, Gaudet, Gensonné, Brissot, Condorcet, and Isnard. This party was disposed to have recourse to the most radical measures, and to appeal to the multitude to aid it in carrying forward the revolution. Without the doors of the assembly the democratic faction supported the Girondists, and led the clubs and the multitude. Robespierre ruled at the Jacobins; Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine were the leaders at the Cordeliers, which was still more violent than the other, and the brewer Santerre was the popular chief in the suburbs. The emigration increased greatly day by day.

The king's two brothers had protested against the acceptance of the constitution by Louis XVI. Hostile gatherings took place in the Austrian Low Countries, and in the neighboring electorates. Preparations for the counter revolution were made at Brussels, Worms and Coblentz, under the protection of foreign courts. The assembly, greatly irritated, adopted on October 30 a decree which declared Louis Stanislas Xavier, the king's brother, deprived of all right to the regency unless he should return to France within two months. November 19 it declared that all Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers were suspected of conspiring against their country, and if on January 1, 1792, they were still assembled

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in that hostile manner they would be treated as conspirators, and punished with death. The king sanctioned the first decree, but placed his veto on the other.

The national irritation was at this time greatly increased by the conduct of the princes of the neighboring states, who received the emigrants with favor and countenanced their military preparations. It was desired that Louis XVI. should make a solemn declaration against them. The proposed measure was decreed unanimously and enthusiastically, and Louis XVI. approved it. "If my representations are not listened to," he said, "it will only remain for me to declare war." The assembly voted twenty millions for this object. A hundred and fifty thousand men were raised and three armies were formed, which were posted on the northern and eastern frontiers, under command of Rochambeau, Luckner and Lafayette.

Austria replied to this decree by ordering Marshal Bender to give his support to the Elector of Trèves if he were attacked, and demanded the restoration of the German princes who were formerly possessors in Alsace. It demanded the reëstablishment of the feudality of this province, or war. The legislative assembly now accused the ministry of weakness and bad faith, and a total dissolution of the council followed. The king, yielding to pressure of circumstances, now formed a Girondist ministry, the most remarkable members of which were General Dumouriez and Roland, a man of narrow mind, completely under the control of his wife, who was the life and soul of the Girondist party. Louis XVI. replied to the demands of Austria by proposing war, April 20, 1792, and the assembly so determined. The invasion of Belgium, which was occupied by the Austrians, was resolved on, and Rochambeau was ordered to undertake it. The two first invading columns, however, were seized with terror at the sight of the enemy and took to flight. Rochambeau resigned the command, and the war assumed a defensive character. Two armies covered the French frontiers on the north and the east, under Lafayette and Luckner.

The first reverse suffered by the French troops excited great anxiety and violent discontent. The court was accused of being in complicity with the enemy and the assembly declared its sessions permanent. It passed two decrees contrary to the king's wishes. The one exiled the priests who refused the oath of allegiance to the constitution, the other established a camp of twenty thousand

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men under the walls of Paris. The ministers took the king to task on the subject of his constitutional duties and exhorted him to make himself frankly the king of the revolution. This wounded the king, and determined him to dismiss the Girondist ministers and reject the two decrees. The assembly immediately declared that the late ministers had the sympathy of the nation.

The new ministry was chosen from among the Feuillants, a party distasteful to the multitude for their moderation and to the court for their attachment to the constitution. The various parties became more and more divided; every hope of reconciliation vanished. The court reckoned upon Europe for the restoration of its power, and the Girondists relied upon the populace to enable them to secure theirs. Chabot, Santerre and others of the Jacobin Club kept the suburbs in a state of commotion. On June 20 thirty thousand men armed with pikes invaded the Tuileries. Summoned by the mob to sanction the two decrees, the king refused with admirable courage, but dared not decline the red cap which was presented to him at the end of a pike, and he placed it on his head amid the applause of the crowd. Pétion, the mayor of Paris, arrived at length, and harangued the multitude, which slowly dispersed.

The constitutionalists, indignant at this occurrence, now entreated the king to grant them his confidence, and accept their support, and Lafayette besought him to place himself at the head of his army. But a fatality blinded the unfortunate monarch, and he refused. The king was now the object, in the debates of the assembly, of the most violent invectives, and the question of his dethronement was already discussed, when, on July 11, 1792, the assembly declared the country in danger. All citizens capable of bearing arms were summoned to enroll themselves; pikes were distributed; a camp was formed at Soissons; the revolutionary excitement was at its height; the club of the Feuillants was closed; the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs of the national guard were dissolved; the troops of the line and the Swiss were removed from the capital and everything betokened some impending catastrophe.

The Duke of Brunswick was now advancing at the head of eighty-one thousand Prussians, Austrians, Hessians and emigrants, and this caused a general rising of the whole French people. In Paris the popular party wished to annul the king's authority

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at once. On August 3 Pétion appeared before the assembly and demanded the dethronement of the king, in the name of the commune and the sections; the assembly took no action. The scenes of disorder grew more frequent day by day and the insurgents fixed the morning of August 10 for the attack on the Tuileries. Informed of the threatening demonstrations that were everywhere taking place, the court had put the Tuileries in a state of defense; the interior was guarded by from eight to nine hundred Swiss and a body of gentlemen armed with swords and pistols. Several battalions of national guards, distinguished for their royalist sentiments, occupied the courtyard and the exterior posts, but an unfortunate blow shook their resolution. Mandat, the commander-in-chief, was summoned before the commune to render an account of his conduct, and the mob murdered him on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville. Santerre, the brewer, immediately succeeded him in his command, and the court thus found itself deprived of one of its most reliable defenders. The insurgents now advanced in several columns against the Tuileries. The king, by the advice of some of his friends, then proceeded with his family to the hall of the assembly amid the vociferations of the populace.

After the departure of the king a furious conflict took place between the Swiss and the assailants, and the Swiss, whom a first volley had made master of the Carrousel, were driven back by the multitude, dispersed, and exterminated. This was the last day of the monarchy. A new municipality that had been established by the actions of the section proceeded to the assembly and demanded the dethronement of the king and the establishment of a national convention. Vergniaud replied by proposing the summoning of an extraordinary assembly, the dismissal of the ministers, and the suspension of the king's authority. These measures were approved of, and the Girondist ministers were reëstablished in power. The unfortunate Louis XVI. was taken to the Temple, with his family, and September 20 was appointed as the day for the opening of the assembly which was to decide the destinies of the nation.

The enemy's army continued to approach, and there was reason to fear a civil war. Lafayette, after a vain effort to lead his troops against Paris, left his army and crossed the frontier. He was arrested by the Austrians first at Magdeburg, and then

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at Olmütz. On August 10 the victorious party proceeded to establish its power in Paris by the most violent methods. It had all the statues of kings pulled down, demanded of the assembly the establishment of an extraordinary tribunal for the trial of those whom it termed the conspirators of August 10. This tribunal was established; but its proceedings appeared too dilatory to the populace, excited by the loss of relatives and friends at the attack on the Tuileries.

The Prussians, supported by Austrians and Hessians, threatened the frontier of the north, and French emigrants under the command of the Prince of Condé marched against France in concert with them. Longwy capitulated; Verdun was bombarded and thenceforth the road to Paris was open. Terror reigned throughout Paris. Numerous arrests were immediately made by order of the commune. The prisoners were selected from the ranks of the dissenting nobility and the clergy. Troops marched towards the frontier. Ill-omened rumors chilled every soul; the commune exerted itself, and measures were taken for a general levy of the citizens.

The news of the capture of Verdun reached Paris on the night of September 1 and filled it with a species of stupefaction. The tocsin was sounded, the barriers were closed, and on the second the massacre of prisoners commenced. During three days the nobles and the priests who had been imprisoned at the Abbaye, the Conciègerie, Carmes, and La Force were executed by the ignorant, fanatic and excited populace, in the midst of a hideous parody of judicial forms. The brutal mob displayed under the windows of the Temple, in the sight of the queen, the head of her friend, the unfortunate Princess de Lamballe. The assembly wished to check the massacres, but found itself unable to do so. The commune reigned alone in Paris.

The Prussians continued to advance. Dumouriez, who had been appointed to the command of the army of the Moselle, threw his troops, by an inspiration of genius, into the forest of Argonne, the only position in which he could check the progress of the enemy. The Prussians were compelled to halt, but an error committed by Dumouriez forced him to fall back upon the camp of Sainte-Menehould, where he concentrated his forces, and received reinforcements under the command of Beurnonville and Kellermann. On September 20 the Prussians attacked Kellermann at

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Valmy, but the honor of the day remained with the French. After unsuccessful negotiations, the Prussians were allowed to retreat unmolested. The French resumed possession of Verdun and Longwy and the enemy repassed the Rhine at Coblentz. Other successes attended the French arms in the course of this campaign. Custine, on the Rhine, took possession of Tréves, Spires and Mayence; Montesquiou invaded Savoy, and Anselme the county of Nice. The French troops everywhere assumed the offensive, and were victorious.

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Chapter XVII

THE FIRST REPUBLIC. 1792-1795

THE legislative assembly had dissolved itself, and that which succeeded it commenced its sitting on September 20, 1792, and took the name of the national convention. Its first act was to abolish royalty, and it then declared that it would date its proceedings from the first year of the French republic. These measures were decreed unanimously, but the two sections into which the legislative assembly was divided at its close speedily commenced a desperate war against each other, the issue of which was fatal to both of them. These parties were that of the Girondists, which sat on the right in the assembly, and that of the Mountain, which occupied the upper benches on the left, whence they derived their name. The first party desired a legal and constitutional form of government in the republic, which was the object of their wishes, and which they had themselves assisted to establish. The Mountain, less enlightened and less scrupulous than the Girondists, were more audacious and less scrupulous as to the means by which they attained their ends. The most extreme democracy seemed to them to be the best form of government, and they had for their principal leaders, Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, of whom the two last-named were, with good reason, held in especial horror by the Girondists. Robespierre, a man of moderate talents, but full of envy and ambition, aspired to the first rank, and triumphed over all superiority by branding it with the then odious name of aristocracy. He distinguished himself in the eyes of the multitude by a show of austere patriotism, and captivated it by lavishing upon it the property and blood of the vanquished. Marat, a furious fanatic, had rendered himself the apostle of murder by his discourses; and in his infamous journal, *The Friend of the People,* he advocated recourse to a dictatorship for the purpose of subduing the enemies of the people, and exterminating them in a body. The Girondists were stronger in the assembly than their rivals, but the commune of Paris was

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devoted to the Mountain, which ruled by its aid and that of the Jacobins the sections and the suburbs. A third party, with no decided opinions and no systematic action, hesitated between the two others. They voted for the Girondists and gave them the majority, as long as they were without fears for themselves, but fear at length threw them into the opposite ranks. The Girondists accused Robespierre of seeking to establish a tyranny. This accusation, ill supported, fell also upon Marat, who every day advocated fresh massacres. But by these attacks, which were renewed from day to day, the Girondists increased the importance of their adversaries; failing to perceive that they must vanquish and crush them, or perish themselves. Powerless against the commune, they yielded also to their enemies the club of the Jacobins, and irritated the populace of Paris by demanding that the protection of the assembly should be confined to troops drawn from the departments. From this policy they obtained the name of federalists, and were accused of wishing to excite the provinces against the capital, while the Mountain had proclaimed the unity and indivisibility of the republic.

The French arms triumphed in Belgium. Dumouriez defeated the Austrians under General Clairfait and the Archduke Albert at Jemappes. The enemy was driven beyond the Roer, and the victorious general entered Brussels on the 14th, while his lieutenants took Namur and Antwerp. The whole of Belgium was subdued. From this time began the dissensions between the victorious Dumouriez and the Jacobins. The latter threw themselves upon the conquered provinces as their prey. The Flemings, weary of the Austrian yoke, had received the French with enthusiasm, and as liberators. But the Jacobins speedily alienated them by demanding heavy contributions, and gave them up to a frightful anarchy. Dumouriez, indignant, returned to Paris with the double object of repressing their violence and saving Louis XVI.; his efforts were vain.

The unfortunate monarch languished during four months in the tower of the Temple, with the queen, his two children, and his virtuous sister Elizabeth, passing his time in reading and the education of the young dauphin. The commune exercised a cruel surveillance over its captives, and made them drink deep of bitterness. The debate on the king's trial commenced on November 7, and it was soon decided to bring him before the convention

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on various charges, the chief of which was conspiracy with the European powers to overthrow the sovereignty and liberties of the French people. The Mountain, urging with the utmost energy the condemnation of the king, wished to crush the Girondists, who had openly expressed their desire to save him. The great majority of the assembly persisted in conducting this great trial according to judicial forms, and Louis XVI., already separated from his family, appeared as a prisoner before the convention. He either denied the charges that were made against him or took refuge behind the inviolability conferred upon him by the constitution. On being reconducted to the Temple, he requested to be allowed counsel, and, by permission of the convention, Tronchet and Malesherbes immediately commenced the preparation of the king's defense, and took counsel with De Sèze, an advocate of Bordeaux, established in Paris. When the king was taken a second time before the convention, he appeared at the bar accompanied by his counsel. De Sèze read the defense, and concluded his pathetic address with these solemn words: "Louis, ascending the throne at the age of twenty years, sat there an example of morals, justice and economy. He carried to it no weakness, no corrupt passion, and was the constant friend of the people. The people wished that a disastrous tax should be abolished, and Louis abolished it; the people desired the abolition of servitude, and Louis abolished it; the people solicited reforms, and he made them; the people wished to change its laws, and he consented to the change; the people wished that millions of Frenchmen should recover their rights, and he restored them; the people wished for liberty, and he bestowed it on them. It is impossible to deny to Louis the glory of having anticipated the wishes of the people by his sacrifices; and this man it is proposed to you to—— But, citizens, I will not complete what I was about to say. I pause in the presence of history. Remember that it will judge your judgment, and that its verdict will be that of all ages to come." Louis XVI. left the hall with his counsel, and a violent storm immediately arose in the assembly. Lanjuinais, in a state of great indignation, rushed to the tribune, and demanded that the whole proceedings should be annulled. His appeal was followed by a terrible tumult, and from all sides arose the cry, "Order! To the Abbaye with him!" Lanjuinais, calm and intrepid, added, "I would rather die a thousand deaths than condemn, contrary to the law, the most

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abominable tyrant." A crowd of speakers succeeded Lanjuinais. Saint-Just influenced the hatred of the unfortunate prince's enemies by representing him, with an air of hypocritical gentleness, under the most abominable colors. Rabaud-Saint-Etienne, a Protestant minister, who had already honorably distinguished himself as a member of the constituent assembly, expressed himself, on the other hand, as indignant at the accumulation of powers exercised by the convention. Robespierre then arose and said, "The chief proof of devotion which we owe to our country is to stifle in our hearts every sentiment of compassion." He then broke forth into invectives and perfidious insinuations against the deputies of the Gironde, who at this critical moment preserved a prudent silence, while Robespierre expressed himself without reserve, demanded that Louis XVI. should be condemned, and did not conceal his desire that his blood should be shed. These stormy debates were prolonged during three days, and at length Vergniaud, the greatest orator of the Girondist party, arose to speak and was listened to in profound silence. He declared in favor of an appeal to the people, repelled the perfidious insinuations of Robespierre, and predicted all the dangers which must result to France from a precipitate condemnation. The impression produced by this discourse was profound, and the assembly, divided into two parties, hesitated. Brissot, Gensonné, Pétion, advised an appeal to the people; Barrère opposed this course, and his cold and cruel logic triumphed over the eloquence of Vergniaud. The conclusion of the discussion was declared, and a decree fixed the nominal vote for January 17, 1793. On this day, 721 of the convention recorded their votes, and sentence of death on the king was pronounced by a majority of 53, the king's cousin, the Duke of Orleans, being among those who declared that he ought to die on the scaffold. The counsel of Louis XVI., De Sèze and Tronchet, protested against the decree; Malesherbes endeavored to speak, but sobs choked his voice. A motion for reprieval and delay was negatived two days later by a majority of 380 against 310, and the execution was fixed for January 21.

Louis had requested the services of a priest, and had named the Abbé Edgeworth of Firmont. The request was granted. A last interview with his family had been permitted to the unfortunate monarch on the day preceding that which had been fixed for his execution. In the evening the queen entered his chamber, lead-

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ing the dauphin by the hand; his daughter and Madame Elizabeth followed, and all four threw themselves simultaneously into the king's arms, with the most bitter sobs. After a long and painful interview the king rose and put an end to this cruel scene by promising to see his family on the morrow—a promise which could not be fulfilled. His only thought now was how best to prepare himself for death. About midnight he went to bed and slept until five in the morning. When the king was dressed the Abbé Edgeworth said mass. Louis XVI. received the communion on his knees from the priest's hands.

The drums were already beating in the streets of Paris, and the sections were assuming their arms. At nine o'clock Santerre, accompanied by a deputation from the commune, the department, and the criminal tribunal, arrived at the Temple. The king prepared to depart. He spared himself and his family a fresh separation, which would have been more painful than that of the previous day, and charged his faithful servant Cléry to give his last farewell to his wife, his sister, and his children; then gave the signal for departure. Two rows of armed men lined the boulevard as far as the Place of the Revolution, and a profound silence accompanied the passage of the fatal carriage. Shortly after ten Louis XVI. arrived at the place of his execution. A space had been kept vacant round the scaffold and cannon were planted in every direction. The king undressed himself, and when he refused to allow the executioner to bind his hands, the Abbé Edgeworth said to him: "Suffer this outrage, which is but a final point of resemblance between your fate and that of the God who will be your recompense." Louis submitted, and allowed himself to be bound and led upon the scaffold. He attempted to address the armed multitude that filled the square, but the rolling of drums drowned his voice. The executioners did their work and the head of Louis XVI. fell into the basket. When the executioner raised the head and displayed it to the people, the silence was broken by loud cries of "Long live the republic! Long live liberty!"

After what occurred on January 21 indignant Europe flew to arms with one accord. Thenceforth the revolution had for its declared enemies England, Holland, Spain, the whole German confederation, Naples, the Holy See, and Russia; while almost at the same time the Vendée, in western France, arose in formidable revolt. The French government had now to contend with, besides

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enemies at home, three hundred and fifty thousand of the best troops in Europe, who were moving upon the frontiers in every direction. To meet such a combination of perils a levy of three hundred thousand men was ordered, and an extraordinary and revolutionary tribunal of nine members, whose decrees were to be without appeal, was established for the purpose of punishing the members of the counter revolution. The Girondists resisted the establishment of a tribunal so arbitrary and formidable, but their resistance was useless. Branded by the name of intriguers and enemies of the people, their destruction was already resolved on. The insurrection in the Vendée redoubled the fury of the Jacobins. There the manners of old times were maintained together with the feudal customs; there the country populations remained submissive to the priests and nobles, the latter of whom had not emigrated.

The call for three hundred thousand men excited a general insurrection in the Vendée, the chief leaders being a wagoner named Cathelineau, a naval officer named Charette, and Stofflet, a gamekeeper, while the nobles Bonchamp, Lescure, La Rochejaquelin, D'Elbée, and Talmont joined and supported the movement with the utmost energy. They vanquished the troops of the line, and the battalions of the national guard which were sent against them. This formidable insurrection provoked the convention to still more cruel measures against the priests and nobles. Every one who took part in any riot was put beyond the pale of the law; the property of the emigrants was confiscated and the revolutionary tribunal commenced its frightful functions.

Another enemy now appeared. Dumouriez, after an unsuccessful invasion of Holland, had been vanquished at the battle of Neerwinden by the Prince of Coburg, the Austrian commander-in-chief, and had been compelled to evacuate Belgium. Long since, at open war with the Jacobins, he had meditated their overthrow and the reëstablishment of the constitutional monarchy. With this object in view, he resolved to turn against the existing government and to march upon Paris in concert with the Austrians. The convention having gained a knowledge of his projects sent to arrest him in the midst of his soldiers, and Dumouriez, finding that he could not rely on their support, was compelled to pass over in haste to the enemy's camp.

The Girondists made as severe animadversions on his conduct

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as did the Mountain, but they were nevertheless accused of being in complicity with him. Vergniaud, Brissot, Gaudet, Gensonné, and Pétion were more especially denounced by Robespierre and Marat. Gaudet, with the object of freeing the assembly from the tyranny of the Jacobins and the commune, proposed bold measures, such as the dissolution of the municipality and the assembling of the convention at Bourges. This and other measures soon provoked a war to the death between the Girondists and the municipality. Determined to put an end to their influence in the convention and to render the convention itself completely subject to their own will, the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs and the sections declared their sittings permanent and organized a formidable insurrection with the view of crushing the Girondists at once and forever.

Hanriot was appointed to the command of the armed force of Paris. Forty sous per day were promised to the sansculottes, as the partisans of the commune and the Jacobins were styled, so long as they should be under arms. The alarm gun was fired, the tocsin was sounded, and on June 2 several thousand armed men surrounded the convention. Lanjuinais denounced the projects of the factions and concluded by moving that all the revolutionary authorities in the capital should be deposed. The insurgent petitioners entered at that moment and demanded his arrest and that of the other Girondists. A violent debate took place, in the midst of which Delacroix rushed into the hall, complaining of outrages to which he had been subjected by the mob, and declaring that the convention was not free. The Mountain itself was indignant; Danton exclaimed that the national majesty must be avenged. The whole of the convention arose and set forth with the president at its head. Surrounded on every side, it reëntered the hall of assembly in a state of profound discouragement, where it no longer opposed the arrest of the proscribed deputies, and Marat constituted himself dictator as to the fate of its members. Twenty-nine Girondists were arrested in the midst of the assembly, and the satisfied multitude dispersed. From that moment the Girondist party was crushed, and the convention was no longer free.

The Girondists, Pétion, Barbaroux, Gaudet, Louvet, Buzot, and Lanjuinais succeeded in escaping, and took advantage of the indignation excited throughout France by the events of May 31 and June 2 to arouse the departments to arms. Brittany took part in the movement, and the insurgents, under the name of the

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assembly of the departments, assembled at Caen, formed an army comanded by General Wimpfen, and made preparations for marching upon Paris. It was from there that set out the heroic Charlotte Corday, a young girl endowed with an ardent soul, as courageous as it was enthusiastic, who stabbed Marat in his bath and died on the scaffold with exemplary courage. In the meantime the dangers by which the convention was surrounded became greater every day. The principal cities of the kingdom and nearly two-thirds of the departments were in a state of revolt. Lyons on May 29 declared against the convention; Marseilles rose at the same time; Toulon, Nimes, and Montauban followed this example, and in all those cities the royalists headed the movement. They summoned the English to Toulon to their aid, and Admiral Hood entered that place to proclaim the young dauphin, son of Louis XVI., king, by the name of Louis XVII. Bordeaux, equally in a state of revolt, declared in favor of the deputies proscribed on June 2. The insurrection extended to the west; the Vendeans became masters of Bressuire, Argenton, and Thouars; forty thousand men under Cathelineau, Lescure, Stofflet, and La Rochejacquelin, took Saumur and Angers, and threw themselves upon Nantes. The position of the republic was no more happy abroad. It was in vain that Custine was appointed to the command of the army of the north; Mayence capitulated after a splendid resistance, which obtained for its defenders the title of Mayençais; the enemy took Valenciennes and Condé; the frontier was crossed, and the French army, greatly discouraged, retired behind the Scarpe, the last defensive position between the enemy and Paris.

The convention resolved boldly to face all these perils which it had itself excited. To meet the necessities of the moment it appointed a committee of public safety, whose principal members were Robespierre, Saint-Just, Couthon, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Carnot, Cambon, and Barrère. The latter was the official mouthpiece of the committee; Cambon watched over the finances and Carnot over the armies. The excitement of the people was now extreme. The deputies of the municipalities demanded at the bar of the convention the arrest of all suspected persons, and a levy *en-masse* of the whole nation. All the young men of from eighteen to twenty years of age were summoned to join the army, and France speedily had at her command fourteen armies and nearly a million soldiers. But terror was employed to obtain means for their sup-

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port. Violent and incessant requisitions were made upon the middle classes and two severe laws were passed, the law of the maximum, which compelled, on pain of death, all proprietors and merchants to furnish at a certain price all the provisions which the government might require, and the law of suspected persons, which authorized the preliminary and unlimited imprisonment of every person suspected of conspiracy against the revolution. France, transformed into a camp for one portion of its population, became a prison for another. The men of commercial pursuits and the bourgeoisie furnished the prisoners, and were placed, as well as the authorities, under the surveillance of the mob, as represented by the club, which the convention desired at any price to attach to itself. Every poor person received forty sous a day to be present at the assembly of his section; certificates of citizens were given out, and each section had its revolutionary committee.

By these violent methods the convention obtained temporary resources sufficient to enable it to triumph over its enemies. The reactionists of Calvados were put to flight at Vernon. Caen and Bordeaux submitted, and Toulon and Lyons, after a desperate struggle, fell in succession before the Republican arms. The Vendee alone long continued an heroic and terrible contest, but the Vendeans after defeating the best of the republican generals were ultimately vanquished in their turn, after losing all their leaders, including Cathelineau and Henry of Rochejacquelin, while their country was devastated by fire and sword by twelve flying columns under the orders of General Turreau. The republic was at the same time victorious on the frontiers. That of the north was the most seriously threatened. The Duke of York besieged Dunkirk with thirty-three thousand men; Freytag covered the siege with another army posted on the Yser; the Prince of Orange commanded fifteen thousand Dutch at Menin and a hundred thousand soldiers of the allied armies, extending from Quesnoy to the Moselle, besieged the strong places which defended the passes. To prevent the invasion of France, it was necessary to cut this formidable line and to raise the siege of Dunkirk. Houchard, in command of the army of the north, suddenly marched from this place with very inferior forces, and fell upon Freytag, who, after two sanguinary actions on the Yser and at Hondtschoote, in which he was defeated, fell back in disorder upon Furnes. The raising of the siege of Dunkirk was one of the fruits of this victory, the news of which

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was received with enthusiasm. In the meantime the Austrians under the Prince of Coburg had invested Maubeuge, covering the siege by occupying the positions of Dourlens and Wattignies, but a successful attack on the latter by Jourdan, who had superseded Houchard in command of the army of the north, compelled the allies to raise the siege of Maubeuge and concentrate their troops between the Scheldt and the Sambre. This enabled Jourdan to resume the offensive. Kellermann at the same time drove the Piedmontese beyond the Alps. France lost on the Pyrenees the lines of the Tech, and its army was forced to fall back in front of Perpignan. The lines of Weissenburg were also forced by the Prussians and Austrians under Brunswick and Wurmser. But Hoche, at the head of the army of the Moselle, drove back Wurmser and effected his junction with the army of the Rhine under Jourdan. Brunswick followed Wurmser's retrograde movement and thenceforth the two French armies combined advanced and encamped in the Palatinate. France in its struggle with Europe recovered all that it had lost, with the exception of Condé, Valenciennes, and a few strong places in Roussillon.

Meanwhile, the committee of public safety exercised an almost arbitrary authority in France. The executive authority was concentrated in the hands of this committee, which held the lives and fortunes of everyone in its power. After each victory obtained over its enemies within by the republic, it ordered frightful executions or horrible massacres. Barrère ordered the extermination of the inhabitants of Lyons, and Collot d'Herbois, Fouché and Couthon were the barbarous executors of the decrees of the committee against this unfortunate city. The scaffold was too slow an instrument for their vengeance, and the vanquished insurgents were mowed down by musketry in the public places. Toulon, Caen, Marseilles and Bordeaux became the theater of horrible scenes. At Paris the most illustrious men and the leaders of all parties were dragged to the scaffold; the queen, Marie Antoinette, and Bailly perished within a few days of each other. The Girondists who were proscribed on June 2 soon followed them, and walked to their death with the most stoical courage. The Duke of Orleans, Philip Egalité, as he was nicknamed by the sansculottes, who had voted for the death of the king, was not spared; Barnave and Duport-Dutertre were immolated, and with them the Generals Houchard, Custine, Biron, Beauharnais and many others. All the fugitive Girondists

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were put beyond the pale of the law. Two hundred thousand suspected persons were imprisoned. The public credit was annihilated and the expenses of the government were largely supplied by the sale of the property of the proscribed persons, and by despotic measures which were enforced by threats. It was desired to consecrate, by the establishment of a new era, a revolution unexampled in history, and the divisions of the year, the names of the months and days, were changed, and the Christian calendar was replaced by a republican calendar. The new era was dated from September 22, 1792, the period at which the republic was founded. But this was not enough for the commune of Paris, which demanded the abolition of Christianity, decreed the worship of reason, and established fêtes. It was only when its career of crime and folly had reached its height that the revolutionary movement of the commune received a check. When its madness had reached a certain point the committee of public safety declared itself against it.

Danton and his friends, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Lacroix, Fabre d'Eglantine and Westermann wished to establish a legal system of order, and desired to suspend the functions of the revolutionary tribunal. This rendered Robespierre's colleagues in the committee of public safety furious against Desmoulins and the Dantonists, and Robespierre agreed to deliver the latter into their power, in return for the heads of the principal anarchists of the commune. He then proceeded to denounce to the convention as enemies of the republic, in the first place the ultra-revolutionists, and in the second the Dantonists, whom he called the moderates, demanding that the government should be endowed with the most extensive powers for the purpose of punishing them. The leaders of the commune, Hebert, Clootz and their accomplices, were the first of all seized, condemned and were finally executed on March 24, 1794.

The turn of Danton and his friends had now come. They were arrested on March 30, and Robespierre prevented their being heard in the assembly. Saint-Just read the accusation against the accused, and the assembly, a prey to a stupor of fear, decreed their trial. On being brought before the revolutionary tribunal they distinguished themselves by their openly expressed contempt for their judges, and after their condemnation they walked boldly to their punishment through the midst of a silent crowd. From that day no voice was raised for some time against the decemvirs, and

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the convention decreed that "Terror and all the virtues were the order of the day." During four months the power of the two formidable committees, that of the public safety and that of the general security, continued to be unlimited, and death became the only instrument of government. The agents of the committee of public safety in the departments distinguished themselves by their atrocities. At Orleans the principal inhabitants were slain; at Verdun seventeen young girls, accused of having danced at a ball given by the Prussians, perished on the scaffold on the same day; at Paris, among the most illustrious victims of this period may be mentioned the octogenarian marshals, Noailles and Maillé, the ministers Machault and Laverdi, the learned Lavoisier, the venerable Lamoignon of Malesherbes, three members of the constituent assembly, D'Eprémesnil, Thouret and Chapelier, and finally the Princess Elizabeth. Robespierre and Saint-Just associated with themselves the paralytic and pitiless Couthon and formed together, even within the committee itself, a formidable triumvirate, which, by isolating, destroyed itself. Robespierre had now attained the height of his power, a culmination that was to be speedily followed by his fall. On June 9 he caused Couthon to propose a law, according to which accused persons were to be refused the advice of counsel, and to be tried in groups, while the juries were to be bound by no other rule than that of their own consciences. It was adopted and the judges of the revolutionary tribunal were scarcely sufficient to carry out the bloody work assigned to them. In Paris alone fifty victims a day were dragged off to punishment. The scaffold was transferred to the suburb Saint-Antoine, and a drain was constructed to receive and carry off the blood that was shed on it.

In the campaign of 1794 the northern frontier was still the chief theater of the war. The French occupied Lille, Guise and Maubeuge, under the command of Pichegru. The Prince of Coburg, the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, commenced operations by the blockade of Landrecies, the English, under the Duke of York, covering the blockade on the side of Cambrai, Coburg posting himself on the side of Guise, and the Austrian general, Clairfait, extending his forces in front of Menin and Courtray. Generals Souham and Moreau assuming the offensive, marched rapidly from Lille, and obtained at Mouscron a victory over Clairfait, which was followed by another over the Duke of York

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at Turcoin, whither he had marched to prevent the junction of Souham's troops with a large body under Jourdan detached from the army of the Moselle. The enemy, however, rallied before Tournay, and held the French in check, whereupon Landrecies fell. Jourdan now came up with the army of the Moselle and effected a junction with the army in the north. Pichegru besieged Ypres, and vanquished Clairfait, who advanced to its succor, at Hooghlede, while Jourdan invested Charleroi and occupied the banks of the Sambre. The princes of Orange and Coburg marched to the relief of this important place, but before they arrived Charleroi had fallen into the hands of the French, and Jourdan defeated the allies, who were advancing in ignorance of its loss on the plains of Fleurus. Coburg ordered a retreat on Brussels, but Pichegru advanced more quickly than he, and promptly occupied that city. The enemy, dispersed, fell back towards the Meuse and the Rhine, and France not only recovered all the places she had lost, but made new conquests. Pichegru continued his march towards the mouth of the Scheldt and the Meuse, driving back the English towards the sea, while Jourdan, after defeating Clairfait on the Ourthe and Roer, tributaries of the Meuse, pursued the Austrians as far as the Rhine, and took Cologne, Maestricht, Bois-le-Duc and Venloo. The Duke of York fell back towards Nimeguen on the Waal, where Pichegru speedily arrived to engage him. On November 8 this place fell into the hands of the French, and with this last and brilliant success terminated this glorious campaign in the north. The effect of these successes was felt by the armies of the Moselle and the upper Rhine, commanded by General Michaud. The Prussians recrossed the Rhine, and the French blockaded Luxemburg and Mayence, which still remained in the possession of the allies. Dugommier and Moncey promptly repaired the first reverses on the frontiers of Spain, and having driven the Spaniards out of France, invaded the Peninsula, where Moncey took Saint Sebastian and Fontarabia.

Such was the prosperous state of France abroad; at home the rivalry of the groups in the committee of public safety was rapidly leading to a catastrophe. Robespierre, irritated at the resistance of Tallien and his supporters to his views, was resolved to crush and destroy them, and they perceived that they must either anticipate his designs or be his victims. They first accused him of tyranny in the committees, which Robespierre, relying on the sup-

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port of the Jacobins and the mob, denounced as enemies to the republic in the convention. His accusation was referred for examination to the very committee which he had denounced, and Robespierre, enraged by the coldness which the convention showed towards him, took measures in concert with the Jacobin club to excite an insurrection in Paris. The session of July 27, 1794, opened under the most threatening auspices. Saint-Just ascended the tribune, and opposite him was seated Robespierre; Tallien and Billaud interrupted Saint-Just and commenced the attack. Robespierre jumped forward to reply to them, when a cry arose from every side of "Down with the tyrant!" His arrest was immediately proposed. His brother and Lebas requested to be allowed to share his fate, and the assembly unanimously ordered that they should be arrested along with Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just and Hanriot. The victory, however, was still uncertain. Robespierre and his companions were released and taken to the Hôtel de Ville, where the commune had declared for them. Hanriot had fallen into the hands of the committee of public safety, but soon after escaped and gathered a few thousand troops in the square before the Hôtel de Ville. The convention now assumed the offensive, and put Robespierre and his associates beyond the pale of the law. The sections and the clubs had not yet taken his side and the action of the assembly turned the scales against him. At midnight a heavy rain dispersed the armed men gathered in the square of the Hôtel de Ville. The battalions of the sections swore to defend the assembly and marched at midnight upon the commune, to which Robespierre had been carried in triumph, and where he now sat motionless, and as though paralyzed by terror. The Hôtel de Ville was surrounded with cries of "Long live the convention!" Despair and rage took possession of those who had been proscribed. Lebas killed himself; young Robespierre threw himself from a third-floor window and survived his fall; Couthon struck himself with a trembling hand; Coffinhal overwhelmed Hanriot with execrations, and threw him from a window into a sewer, and Robespierre probably attempted to take his own life, but succeeded only in shattering his jawbone. He was seized, together with his colleagues and the principal members of the commune, and on the following day they were sent without trial to the scaffold. The spectators cursed Robespierre as he was drawn, trembling with fear, to the guillotine; and at the moment when his head fell

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beneath the knife prolonged shouts filled the air. France once more breathed freely, and the reign of terror was at an end.

Two new parties were now formed: that of the Committees and that of the Mountain, which had contributed with Tallien to the victory of July 27. The first party relied on the Jacobin club and the suburbs, and the second on the majority of the convention and the national guard, or armed sections. A great number of prisoners were set free during the days which followed the fall of Robespierre, and seventy-two members of the commune perished on the scaffold with Fouquier-Tinville and other prominent men among the terrorists. The members of the revolutionary tribunal were replaced and the powers of the committees were diminished. The odious law relative to the criminal procedure was abolished. The convention recalled to its assembly seventy-three deputies who had been proscribed for having protested against the condemnation of the Girondists; revoked the decrees of expulsion issued against the priests and nobles; reëstablished public worship; suppressed the maximum, and had the bust of Marat in its own hall broken. A new crop of evils, however, was produced by the sudden reaction. Millions of assignats had been sent into circulation, and when there were no longer any violent laws to enforce their currency they immediately fell fifteen times below their first value; coin disappeared from circulation, and the prodigious fall in the value of the assignats was followed by a wild system of speculation which ruined a multitude of families. Monopoly succeeded the terrible law of the maximum, and the farmers avenged themselves for their long and cruel oppression by holding back provisions of all kinds. Famine now made its appearance, and the lower orders of the suburbs regretted the time when the system of government gave them bread and power, and once more had recourse to tumults. At last, on April 20, 1795, a savage, hungry mob of armed men and women, who cared little for order and justice, and desired the renewal of the support that the revolutionary government had afforded them, marched upon the convention, which, taken by surprise, called the sections to arms. The doors of the hall of assembly were broken through, and the mob invaded the tribunes, crying out, "Bread! and the constitution of '93!" The hall of the assembly speedily became a field of battle, and a few of the deputies, who were favorable to the insurrectionary movement, took the opportunity of seizing the bureaux, and decreeing by themselves alone the

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articles contained in the insurgents' manifesto. But the battalions of the sections now arrived, possessed themselves of the Carrousel, entered the hall of assembly with fixed bayonets, and drove the crowd before them. The members returned in a body, annulled the votes which had been passed during the tumult, and ordered the arrest of fourteen of their number who had been accomplices of the insurgents. Three days after, the suburbs of Paris, which had supported the insurrection, were surrounded and disarmed. The convention then suppressed the revolutionary committee and abolished the constitution of 1793. Thus ended the rule of the people, and from this time the Girondist party became predominant in the assembly.

During the last days of 1794 the cold became excessive, and the French troops, under Pichegrü, crossed the Meuse and Waal on the ice, and entered Holland at several points, upon which the Duke of York and his army retreated in disorder upon Deventer, while the Prince of Orange remained immovable at Gorcum. In a short time the whole of Holland was conquered. The stadtholder fled to England and the States-General governed the republic, which formed a close alliance with France. Prussia, being now threatened, concluded a peace at Basel, and Spain signed a treaty which provided that the French conquests in the peninsula should be exchanged for the Spanish portion of St. Domingo. On the Rhine, Luxemburg was reduced by famine on June 24, but it was not until September 6 that the French could cross the river, the right bank of which was defended by the Austrians under Clairfait and Wurmser. The passage of the river, however, which was effected simultaneously by Jourdan and Pichegru, was rendered of little effect by the latter, who, having come to an understanding with the Prince of Condé, the leader of the emigrant party, allowed himself to be beaten disgracefully by Clairfait, and then shut himself up in Mannheim. Clairfait now marched against Jourdan, who was forced to retreat and cross the river, while the troops investing Mayence were compelled by the Austrians to raise the siege and retire to the foot of the Vosges, on the left bank of the Rhine. The important treaty concluded with Spain enabled the armies of the Pyrenees and of the maritime Alps to effect a junction, and Scherer, who had superseded Kellermann in the chief command, now attempted a bold stroke. Massena, by his orders, crossed the crest of the Apennines and divided the Piedmontese and the Austrians,

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while Serrurier deceived Colli, the Piedmontese general, by a feigned attack, and drove the Austrians into the basin of the Loano. A complete victory was the result of this skillful maneuver.

The republican arms were no less successful in the Vendée, where the Marquis of Puisaye, the active agent of the royalist party in Brittany, requested and obtained the aid of England, and Admiral Bridport set sail with two divisions of emigrants, commanded by the counts of Hervilly and Sombreuil, a third following under the orders of the Count of Artois. An engagement took place off Belle-Isle between the fleet of Admiral Bridport and that of the republican admiral, Villaret-Joyeuse. Bridport, having gained the victory, effected the disembarkation of the two divisions in the Bay of Quiberon, near Vannes. The emigrants immediately marched against the republican army, but were repulsed, and mowed down by artillery. A storm had driven away the fleet and retreat was impossible. Hervilly was slain, and Sombreuil and eight hundred of his troops, compelled to capitulate, were tried by military law and shot by order of Tallien, who would not recognize the capitulation.

England made a fresh effort to support the civil war in the west, and an English fleet carried thither a French prince, the Count of Artois, and several regiments. At the summons of Charette all the coast of Brittany took up arms in the expectation of the prince's disembarkation, but after having remained for some weeks at Isle-Dieu, the Count of Artois returned to England without having set foot on the Continent. The royal cause seemed desperate, and in this year it had also lost the dauphin, the son of Louis XVI., who had been proclaimed King of France by the royalists after January 21 by the title of Louis XVII. The early death of this young prince was attributed to the cruel treatment he had suffered at the hands of a shoemaker named Simon, with whom he had been placed by order of the convention, and took place in June, 1795.[1] His right to the throne passed to his uncle, Louis Stanislas Xavier, Count of Provence, whom the emigrants and foreign powers

[1] It is not at all certain that Louis XVII. died in prison. This is one of the disputed points of revolutionary history. The child buried as Louis XVII. could not have been he, as was sufficiently demonstrated a few years ago by an examination of the skeleton. If he escaped, the Republicans would wish to conceal it. The brother of Louis XVI. gladly accepted the report of the child's death, as it opened to him the way to the throne. In later years a person actually appeared claiming to be the young prisoner, but Louis XVIII. refused to recognize him.

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thenceforth recognized as King of France, under the title of Louis XVIII.

A strong feeling against the convention was now dominant among the middle class of Paris and the southern departments for the crimes it had sanctioned and permitted. Serious disturbances took place in many parts of France, and the reaction placed the convention in peril within the kingdom, while it was so triumphant abroad. The emigrant party, having lost all hope of being able to overthrow it by force, now had recourse to the sections of Paris, and endeavored to bring about a counter-revolution by means of the constitution of the year III. (1795), which placed the legislative power in two councils, that of the five hundred and that of the ancients, while the executive power was intrusted to a directory of five members. The initiative in the proposal of laws was given to the five hundred, and the power of either passing or rejecting them resided in the council of the ancients. The five directors were chosen by the two councils and in each year the directory was renewed by a new member. The memories of the reign of terror had roused a reactionary feeling in the middle class against the convention, and its members, perceiving the danger of their position if the new councils should be chosen in accordance with the prevailing opinions, in order to secure for themselves a majority in the choice of the directors, issued decrees in August, 1795, ordering that two-thirds of the members of the convention should be members of the new councils.

This was the signal for a serious commotion. The royalist chiefs of the sections and the journalists loudly exclaimed against the convention's tyranny; the burgesses composing the national guard nominated a college of electors and swore to defend it to the death. The convention, justly alarmed, declared its session permanent, summoned troops to its aid, and dissolved the college of electors. Provoked to active hostilities by an attempt to suppress one of the sections, forty thousand burgesses were soon under arms, ready to march against the convention. The latter made Barras commander-in-chief, who obtained the assistance of a young general who had particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon—Napoleon Bonaparte. It was he who in October, 1795, made the preparations for the defense of the convention. The insurgents advanced in several columns, and a most murderous conflict took place at the Pont Royal and in the Rue St. Honoré; the

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artillery at these two principal points broke the lines of the insurgents and put them to flight.

This victory enabled the convention immediately to devote its attention to the formation of the councils proposed by it, two-thirds of which were to consist of its own members. The members of the directory were next chosen, and the deputies of the convention appointed La Réveillère-Lepeaux, Carnot, Rewbel, Le Tourneur, and Barras. Immediately after this the convention declared its session at an end, after it had had three years of existence, from September 21, 1792, to October 28, 1795.

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Chapter XVIII

THE DIRECTORY AND THE RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. 1795-1799

THE directors were all, with the exception of Carnot, of moderate capacity, and this tended to render their position the more difficult.

Their first care was to establish their power, and they succeeded in doing this by frankly following at first the rules laid down by the constitution. In a short time industry and commerce began to raise their heads, the supply of provisions became tolerably abundant and the clubs were abandoned for the workshops and the fields. The directory exerted itself to revive agriculture, industry, and the arts, reëstablished the public exhibitions, and founded primary, central and normal schools. The wealthy classes, however, were still the victims, under the government of the directory, of violent and spoliative measures. The necessities of the republic were so vast and imperious that to meet them the government had recourse to forced loans, and to territorial edicts, the latter of which were to be employed for the purpose of withdrawing the assignats from circulation on the scale of thirty to one, and to bring coin into circulation. They possessed the advantage of being immediately exchangeable for the national domains which they represented and furnished the government with a temporary resource. But they subsequently fell into discredit, and conduced to a prodigious bankruptcy of thirty-three thousand millions.

The war in the west was now only carried on by a few leaders, the chief of whom were Charette and Stofflet. Hoche vanquished the former and took him prisoner, and the latter was soon after given up to the republicans by treachery. Soon after these executions most of the insurrectionary leaders laid down their arms and sought refuge in England. In 1796, again, the glory of France was solely supported by its armies. Carnot had formed a plan of campaign in accordance with which the armies of the Rhine, of the Sambre and Meuse, and of Italy might march upon Vienna in con-

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cert and afford each other mutual support. The first two were commanded by generals who were already celebrated—Moreau and Jourdan; the third was intrusted to the young hero of Toulon and defender of the convention in October, 1795, Napoleon Bonaparte. He arrived at his headquarters at Nice on March 27, and sixteen days after gave battle to the Austrians at Montenotte and defeated them. This victory rendered Bonaparte master of the pass of Montenotte and of the crest of the Apennines. He now had in front of him the Austrians, who rallied at Diego and guarded the road to Lombardy, and on his left the Piedmontese, who occupied the formidable gorges of Millesimo, the valley of the Bormida, and intercepted the road to Piedmont. On April 13 the conflict was resumed. An Austrian division was dispersed on that day at Millesimo by Massena and Augereau and on the 15th Bonaparte in person completely wiped out at Diego the remnant of the corps that had been defeated at Montenotte. Bonaparte now hastened in pursuit of the Piedmontese, and was again victorious at Mondovi, April 22, after which King Victor Amadeus, in fear for his capital and his crown, made offers of peace, and Bonaparte signed an armistice by which he was put in possession of Coni, Tortona, and Alexandria, with the immense magazines which they contained, while he preserved his communications with France.

Bonaparte followed up his success. He deceived Beaulieu, the Austrian general, by feigned maneuvers, crossed the Po and laid the Duke of Parma under contribution. He then marched rapidly against that part of Beaulieu's army which occupied Lodi, on the Adda, and forced the passage of the bridge of Lodi, under a perfect storm of round shot and musketry, and Beaulieu retreated, leaving behind him Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Como, and Cassano, which the French entered. Bonaparte immediately seized the important line of the Adige, and then retraced his steps to receive the submission of Genoa and Modena. The court of Naples, ruled by Queen Caroline, the sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and inspired with the most bitter hatred against France, had commenced formidable preparations for war, but it trembled at the news of Bonaparte's victories, and resigned itself to neutrality. The Pope himself was compelled to submit, and Bonaparte levied upon him, as a contribution of peace, twenty-one million francs and a large number of the most famous works of art in his museums.

At the same time that Bonaparte was conducting the Italian

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campaign French armies were contesting with the Austrians the possession of southern Germany. Moreau, who had crossed the Rhine at Kehl at the head of the army of the Rhine, gave battle to the Archduke Charles at Rastatt, between the Rhine and the Black Mountains, and defeated him. This induced the archduke to fall back hastily upon the Danube between Ulm and Ratisbon, allowing Moreau to march against him by the valley of the Necker, and Jourdan, at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse by that of the Main, and then, towards the middle of the year 1796, the French armies, masters of Italy and of half of Germany as far as the Danube, threatened to invade the rest.

The old Austrian general, Wurmser, now entered the Tyrol with 70,000 men and prepared to force the lines of the Adige, to raise the blockade of Mantua, and to crush the French army of Italy, shut up in a narrow space between the Lake of Garda on the north, the Adige on the east, and the Po on the south. He sent one army corps, under Quasdanovitch, to operate to the west of the Lake of Garda, while he himself, with two others, advanced along the banks of the Adige. Bonaparte, whose headquarters were at Castelnuovo, at the southern end of the lake, having learned that the positions of Salo, Corona, and Tivoli, which defend its two shores, had been taken, and that he was on the point of being surrounded, gave up the siege of Mantua, and recalled in all haste the division of Serrurier, which was employed in its blockade. It was first of all important to check the progress of Quasdanovitch, who was on the point of entering the plain to the west of the lake, for the purpose of closing against the French the road to Milan. Bonaparte therefore crossed the Mincio, and marched with the bulk of his forces to Lonato, where the Austrian columns were repulsed and Salo reoccupied by the French. Bonaparte immediately changed the front of his army and hastened to meet Wurmser. Each of the opposing armies rested, one wing on the Lake of Garda and another on the heights of Castiglione; and it was on the celebrated plains of the latter name that was now to be decided the fate of Italy. The action commenced at daybreak on August 5. Bonaparte had ordered the division of Serrurier to make a détour and attack the enemy in the rear; and as soon as he knew by the sound of Serrurier's cannon that he had accomplished his object, he launched the divisions of Augereau and Massena against the Austrian center. The enemy, caught between two fires, recoiled, and Wurmser, having

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ordered a retreat, reëntered the Tyrol, after having lost twenty thousand men, and Italy.

Bonaparte then entered the mountains of the Tyrol in pursuit of the Austrians, but Wurmser had received reinforcements and resumed the offensive. The two armies met at Roveredo, and Bonaparte was again victorious, taking the whole of the Austrian artillery and four thousand prisoners. Wurmser descended the valley of the Brenta to force the Adige and throw himself between the French army in the Tyrol and Mantua, which had been again blockaded. Bonaparte followed him into the basin of the Brenta, attacked him unexpectedly, and obtained a victory at Bassano with the divisions of Augereau and Massena. Wurmser then crossed the Adige at Legnano, forced the lines of the blockading division in front of Mantua, and shut himself up in that city with fifteen thousand men.

Bonaparte, relying upon the popular hatred for despotic governments, imposed a republican form of government on all his conquests. He united Modena with the territories of Reggio and the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and formed with them on the south of the Po a Cispadane republic, while on the north of that river he made of Lombardy a Transpadane republic. These two republics formed in the following year but one republic, under the name of the Cisalpine republic. All Italy trembled before the vanquisher of Austria. Its princes scrupulously observed the treaties which they had made with the French republic, and at the conclusion of the last campaign the court of Naples tremblingly signed a treaty which was too soon to be broken (October, 1796).

Moreau reached the banks of the Danube at the beginning of August, and Jourdan followed the course of the Naab, one of its tributaries. The Archduke Charles, after having been vanquished by Moreau at Neresheim, concentrated all his forces on the Danube and resolved to prevent the junction of Jourdan and Moreau, and to defeat them one after the other with superior forces. The army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, being the feeblest, the archduke advanced against that. Jourdan halted to give battle at Wurzburg, but he was vanquished and driven in disorder upon the Rhine. In the meantime Moreau was approaching Munich, when he heard of the reverses suffered by Jourdan. The archduke returned against him by forced marches, and the army of the Rhine, put in peril in its turn, had to fall back. Moreau ordered the retreat and reëntered France, after having gained in the Black Moun-

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tains the battle of Biberach, and without having allowed himself to be once outmaneuvered.

This retreat left the army of Italy exposed alone to the attacks of the Austrians, and consequently to great danger. Davidovitch had assembled about twenty thousand men in the Tyrol, and Alvinczy was advancing with forty thousand on the Piave and the Brenta. To resist their sixty thousand troops Bonaparte had only thirty-eight thousand, of which twelve thousand were in the Tyrol, under Vaubois, ten thousand on the Brenta and Adige, under Massena and Augereau, and the rest around Mantua. It was not long before the Austrians and the French again came into collision. Davidovitch defeated Vaubois and forced him to fall back as far as Corona and Rivoli, and this reverse forced Bonaparte, although victorious over Alvinczy on the Brenta, to retreat to Verona. Alvinczy hastened to occupy a formidable position in front of Caldiero, which Bonaparte endeavored in vain to carry by fighting the unfortunate battle of Caldiero, after which he was again compelled to retreat to Verona. He did not remain long in this city, but issuing forth on November 14, by the southern gate, he crossed the Adige at Ronco, some leagues to the south, returned to the south by the causeways which lead from Ronco across the marshes beyond the Adige to the positions then occupied by the enemy, and was on the point of making his troops defile by the enemy's rear, when they were checked at the bridge of Arcole, on the Alpone, by some troops that were posted there. The enemy, aroused by the sound of sharp fighting, hastened up from Caldiero, and a formidable array of artillery defended the opposite bank. The bridge was hotly contested, and it was not until the village on the opposite bank was taken by a French division that had crossed the river by a ford below Arcole that its passage was forced. A terrible battle now commenced, which lasted three days and resulted in the complete defeat of Alvinczy. Bonaparte then reëntered Verona in triumph, and immediately marched against Quasdanovitch, who had taken the positions of Corona and Rivoli, and had driven Vaubois as far as Castelnuovo. He attacked him on all sides, and compelled him to retreat in disorder into the gorges of the Tyrol. The campaign, however, was not yet ended. Austria knew that Wurmser was without resources in Mantua, and that to lose this city was to give up Lombardy to France. Emboldened by the success achieved by Prince Charles against the armies of the Rhine and Sambre

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and Meuse, she resolved once more to dispute with Bonaparte the possession of Italy. With this object she intrusted another army to Alvinczy and urged the Pope to send his own to the aid of Mantua, with Colli for its general. In the meantime, however, Bonaparte had received the reinforcements which he had so long expected, and had about forty-two thousand men at his command. He first took measures for holding the troops of the Roman states in check, and then prepared to meet the enemy on the Adige. Alvinczy, with forty-five thousand troops, was descending from the Tyrol by the route which runs along the foot of Montebaldo, which separates the Lake of Garda from the Adige, and a small body of troops marched along the opposite shore. The famous military position of Rivoli was the only one at which the enemy could be held in check between the lake and the river; and Bonaparte, perceiving the importance of this position, determined to await the Austrians there. Alvinczy's troops in vain made assault after assault upon the plateau on which the French were posted, and after two days' hard and continuous fighting were defeated and forced to take refuge in the mountains. Massena immediately hastened towards Provera, who, with another army of twenty thousand Austrians, had crossed the Adige and marched to the relief of Mantua. A second battle took place opposite the suburb Favorite, while Serrurier repulsed a furious attempt made by Wurmser to force his lines, and drove him back into Mantua. Provera, surrounded by Victor and Massena, surrendered with six thousand men. These battles decided the fate of Italy, and Wurmser, reduced to extremities in Mantua, gave up the city and his sword to the young victor.

In the meantime the Pope had sent a division of his army to Mantua. Bonaparte marched against it and defeated it near Imla, at Castel-Bolognese. The remainder of the small Pontifical army, commanded by the Austrian General Colli, surrendered before Ancona on the approach of a French division under General Victor. Ancona opened its gates and the capital and its arsenal fell into the power of the French. Bonaparte and his army marched against Rome and had already reached Tolentino, when the Pope offered to negotiate, and a treaty of peace was signed in that city between the Holy Father and the French republic. By this treaty the Pope surrendered to France Avignon, the Comitat Venaissin, and the territory of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. He also engaged to pay a fresh war contribution of fifteen millions, and to

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abstain from entering into any alliance with the enemies of the republic.

Having settled the affairs of Italy, Bonaparte began his march against the Austrian capital, having the archduke in front of him. Carinthia, Styria, and Friuli were rapidly subdued; terror reigned at Vienna. But it did not seem wise to push the Austrians too hard. Bonaparte made overtures to the archduke and an armistice was finally signed at Leoben. "According to its secret articles, Austria was to cede Milan and the duchy of Modena to the newly created republic of Lombardy, while Belgium was to be given to France; Austria was, on the other hand, to acquire the mainland of Venice as far as the Oglio; besides its dependencies on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, for which Venice was to be indemnified by the bestowal of the three former Papal delegations, Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna." Napoleon thereupon took possession of Venice, having fomented trouble in the republic that he might have cause for interference. He signed, at length, with Austria (October 17, 1797), the Peace of Campo-Formio. In accordance with this treaty the emperor surrendered to France Belgium and Mayence, and consented that she should take the Ionian Islands. It also recognized the Cisalpine republic. France, in return, gave up to Austria, on the east of the Adige, Venice, with several of the Venetian possessions, Istria, Dalmatia and the mouths of the Cattaro. Immediately after the signature of the peace with Austria a congress was opened at Rastatt, to negotiate another with the German empire.

The elections of 1797, of the year V., as it was termed in republican France, were made for the most part under the influence of the reactionary party, which saw with terror that the executive power was in the hands of men who had taken part in the excesses and crimes of the convention. Pichegru was made president of the council of five hundred, and Barbé-Marbois president of the ancients. Le Tourneur was replaced in the directory by Barthélemy, who, as well as Carnot, was opposed to violent measures; but they only formed in the directorate a minority which was powerless against Barras, Rewbel and La Réveillère, who soon entered upon a struggle with the two councils. The latter, among whom were many royalists and a still greater number of moderates, as they were called, had voted pardons for many classes of proscribed persons, and consented to the reëstablishment of freedom of wor-

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ship in France. These and other measures gave offense to Barras and his two supporters in the directory, and they pretended to regard these two parties of moderates and royalists as one, and falsely represented them as conspiring in common for the overthrow of the republic and the reëstablishment of monarchy. But there was a more important point in which the councils incurred the displeasure of the directory, and which led to the interference of the army in affairs at home. The councils saw with anxiety their generals revolutionizing Europe, and creating abroad a state of things incompatible with the spirit of the old monarchies, which threatened to lead to a perpetual state of war between the republic and the other European powers. The council of five hundred energetically demanded that the legislative power should have a share in determining questions of peace and war. No general had exercised, in this respect, a more arbitrary power than had Bonaparte, who took offense at these pretensions on the part of the council of five hundred and entreated the government to look to the army for support against the councils and the reactionary press. He even sent to Paris, as a support to the policy of the directors, General Augereau, to whom the directory gave the command of the military division of Paris. The crisis was now approaching. A few influential members of the two councils endeavored to obtain some changes in the ministry, as a guarantee that the directory would pursue a line of conduct more in conformity with the wishes of the majority, but the directory, on the contrary, summoned to the ministry men who were hostile to the moderate party, and henceforth a *coup d'état* appeared inevitable.

The directors now marched some regiments upon the capital, in defiance of a clause of the constitution which prohibited the presence of troops within a distance of twelve leagues of Paris. The councils burst forth into reproaches and threats against the directors, to which the latter replied by fiery addresses to the armies and to the councils themselves. It was in vain that the directors Carnot and Barthélemy endeavored to quell the rising storm; their three colleagues refused to listen to them and fixed September 6, 1797, for the execution of their project. During the night preceding that day Augereau surrounded the Tuileries, in which the councils held their sittings, with twelve thousand troops and forty pieces of cannon. He arrested with his own hands General Pichegru, the president of the council of five hundred, and other

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members of the council were driven away or taken prisoners just as they were on their way to the Tuileries. The directors now published a letter written by Moreau, which revealed Pichegru's treason, and at the same time nominated a committee for the purpose of watching over the public safety. In accordance with this law, which was declared to be one of public necessity, sixty-five persons, members of the councils and of the directory, were condemned to be transported to the fatal district of Sinnamari. The directors also had the laws passed in favor of the priests and emigrants reversed and annulled the elections of forty departments. Merlin of Douai and François of Neufchâteau were chosen as successors to Carnot and Barthélemy, who had been banished and proscribed by their colleagues.

This revolution preceded by a few days only the Treaty of Campo-Formio, which had been signed by Bonaparte against the wishes of the directors. The latter could not see without alarm a young general raised to the highest rank by a single campaign arbitrarily deciding questions of peace and war, but public opinion exulted in his triumphs, and the directory, as they did not dare to disavow him, wished to appear to share his glory by bestowing upon him in Paris the honors which no general had hitherto received. A triumphal fête was therefore prepared for the ratification of the Treaty of Campo-Formio. This imposing ceremony took place in the palace of the Luxembourg, and here Napoleon Bonaparte, the young general who had raised the glory of the French arms to a height never reached before, and who was destined to hold such a prominent position in the history of France, first stood face to face, in a position of the highest honor, with the people over whom he was soon to sway the imperial scepter.

The Treaty of Campo-Formio and the *coup d'état* of September raised for a short time the power of the dictators, among whom Treilhard succeeded François de Neufchâteau, to a great height, but its strength, which was more apparent than real, rested entirely on the army, and this situation compelled the directors to keep troops in the field and continue the war. It was determined to invade Egypt, and the directors intrusted Bonaparte with the command of the expedition, because it removed from Paris a man whom they feared. He set forth from Toulon with a fleet of four hundred transports carrying 40,000 troops, and protected by sixty-seven vessels of war, and a portion of the army of Italy. The fleet

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set sail on May 19, 1798, under the command of Admiral Brueys, and first of all took possession of the island of Malta, which then belonged to the Order of the Knights of St. John.

Prior to this, however, the directory had exercised an unwarrantable interference in the affairs of Switzerland and Rome. The government was in a condition of extreme difficulty, and as it could provide neither for the support of the army nor the expenses of the state by legitimate means, it had recourse to those which were violent and illegal, and to unjust and rapacious proceedings towards other nations. It coveted the treasure of the city of Berne, valued at from eight to twenty millions, and the riches existing in Rome and all the resources, whether in money or material of war, possessed by Piedmont. These three states were allies of France, and the directory formed a pretext for laying hands upon their possessions. It had long since aroused the revolutionary spirit in Switzerland, and in January, 1798, had openly offered its protection to the democratic party in Switzerland against the aristocracy, which only exercised authority in the cantons by means of the magisterial offices in its possession. By its intrigues and incendiary proclamations it threw the country into a state of disorder, then marched troops into it, and, under pretense of freeing Switzerland from every kind of oppression, seized the treasury at Berne and crushed the inhabitants beneath the burden of forced contributions. Several portions of Switzerland and the free town of Geneva were violently annexed to the French republic. Some cantons which had not enjoyed equal rights with others to which they were in a measure subject were declared to be on a footing of complete equality with them. An assembly, convoked in Aarau, voted for the whole of Switzerland a constitution modeled after that of France and placed the executive power in the hands of a Helvetian directory. This constitution was rejected by the small cantons and threw all Switzerland into a state of disturbance. The French army was directed to reëstablish order, and to enforce obedience to the new constitution. This directory at the same time brought about a revolution in the Roman states. It directed its ambassador at Rome to display, contrary to usual custom, the flag of the republic in front of his mansion. This provoked a popular demonstration against the ambassador, and the French General Duphot perished on the very threshold of the embassy in the tumult which he was endeavoring to quell. For this the directory resolved to exact

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vengeance at the point of the sword, and General Berthier was ordered to march upon Rome. A French corps entered the city unresisted; the temporal authority of the Pope was declared abolished and replaced by a republican government; the public treasury was seized; the churches and convents were robbed and the Pope, Pius VI., was made prisoner. He was dragged into exile to Valence, where he died (August 20, 1799), imploring pardon for his enemies and blessing France, from which he had suffered so many injuries.

The invasion of Switzerland and the Roman states excited the indignation and just alarm of the European powers. They again formed an alliance against France, and the celebrated English minister, William Pitt, induced Austria and Russia to become members of the new coalition. The attack on Egypt caused the Ottoman Porte to join this league, and the court of Naples did so also, and declared war against France in November, 1798.

The directors immediately marched an army into Italy, but before invading the south they resolved to take Piedmont from Charles Emmanuel IV., the son and successor of Victor Amadeus III., who had faithfully observed the treaties concluded by his father with France. The directors had already excited in the city of Genoa a revolutionary movement, and the Genoese state had become, under the protection of France, the Ligurian republic. A similar revolution was set on foot in Piedmont by French agents, and at last Charles Emmanuel was compelled to abdicate the throne of Piedmont and retire with his family to the island of Sardinia, the last remnant of his possessions, where he protested against the shameful violence to which he had been subjected by the directory.

A French army now marched upon Naples and compelled the king to retire to Sicily. The kingdom of Naples became the Parthenopean republic, and the whole of Italy was for some time in the power of the French armies.

The directorial government, although victorious abroad, and possessed apparently of arbitrary power, had in reality but a doubtful tenure of office in France. The violent democrats, by the elections of 1797, had, it is true, gained the ascendency in the council of the five hundred, but as the directors had defied all law by the *coup d'état* of September 6, they could now only suppress violence by violence, and at length roused public opinion against them. Their situation became more and more perilous, and if the resources of

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the government appeared immense, the obstacles against which they had to struggle were still greater. They had to govern not only France, but Holland, which had expelled the stadtholder and become the Batavian republic, Switzerland, and the many republics into which Italy was now divided, while for want of a proper organization they could obtain neither men nor money. It was, nevertheless, necessary to defend these various kingdoms, for war was imminent. The reëstablishment of peace indeed was impossible, for Austria and England were more terrified at the revolutionary doctrines of France than at its arms, and there could be no doubt that the Russian and Austrian armies would speedily march against Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. The directory resolved to anticipate them, and with this object distributed the French armies from the mouth of the Rhine to the gulf of Tarentum. Ten thousand men defended Holland under General Brune; the army of the Rhine was confined to Bernadotte; that of the Danube, consisting of forty thousand men, to Jourdan; Massena occupied Switzerland with thirty thousand troops; Scherer commanded the army of Italy, which now amounted to fifty thousand men, and Macdonald was at the head of that of Naples. It was on the Danube and the Adige that the Austrians were about to make their principal efforts, and the directory, in their anxiety to anticipate the enemy, ordered Jourdan to advance as far as the sources of the Danube, and Scherer to cross the Adige and to traverse the defiles of the Tyrol. The Archduke Charles defeated Jourdan at Stockach, in March, 1799, and compelled him to fall back upon the Rhine in the direction of the Black Forest, while Scherer, in attempting to cross the Adige, was vanquished on the plains of Magnano, and after having been beaten in a number of combats, which resulted in the loss of the Adige, the Mincio and the Adda, and the reduction of his army to twenty thousand men, he resigned the command to Moreau.

The illustrious general, who was in disgrace with the directors, and who had been made a simple general of division under Scherer, never displayed more talent, coolness, presence of mind, and force of character than in the terrible position in which Scherer's rashness had placed the army. Moreau first of all covered Milan and then marched to cross the Po. Maintaining a formidable position at every halt, he concentrated his forces below Alexandria, at the confluence of the Po and the Tanaro, and took up an admirable

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position at the foot of the Genoese mountains, there to await the arrival of Macdonald with the troops under his command.

Macdonald, so long impatiently expected, at length, on June 18, 1799, met Suvarov—who had come to the aid of the Austrians with sixty thousand men—in the valley of the Trebbia and unfortunately gave him battle before he had completely effected his junction with Moreau. Macdonald was driven back beyond the Apennines upon Nova. Moreau hastened to his support, but could only cover his retreat. Italy, as well as Germany, was now lost to the French. The confederates, commanded by the Archduke Charles, now attempted to cross the barrier of Switzerland, defended by Massena, while the Duke of York landed in Holland with forty thousand men.

The elections of April, 1799, were in favor of the democrats, while at the same time Sièyes, the chief opponent of the directory, succeeded Rewbel. The animosity of the councils to the directory caused the substitution in that body of Gohier, ex-minister of justice, General Moulins, and Roger Ducos for Treilhard, Merlin of Douai and La Réveillère. Henceforth Sièyes, supported by Roger-Ducos, the council of ancients, the army and the middle classes, sought to destroy what remained of the constitution of the year III. The support of a victorious general was needed, and Bonaparte opportunely presented himself. The Egytian expedition had been brilliant. The Mamelukes, who alone made an intrepid resistance, were defeated at Chebreiss and at the foot of the Pyramids. Cairo opened its gates, Rosetta and Damietta submitted, and the Mamelukes retired into upper Egypt. In the meantime, Admiral Brueys having imprudently posted the French navy in the roadstead of Aboukir, the English Admiral Nelson bore down upon it and almost entirely destroyed it (July, 1798). In spite of this great disaster, Bonaparte completed the subjugation of Egypt and then entered upon that of Syria, in the hope of penetrating as far as India and striking the English at the source of their power. His army marched upon Gaza, which opened its gates. Jaffa and Caïfa were carried, and Saint Jean d'Acre invested. As Bonaparte, however, was without siege artillery, he failed to take this town, which was defended by the English commodore, Sir Sidney Smith. Junot vanquished the Turks at Nazareth, and Bonaparte, supported by Kléber and Murat, obtained the celebrated victory of Mount Tabor, after which he raised the siege of Saint Jean d'Acre and returned to

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Cairo, where he learned, through the journals, the unfortunate position of the republic and the change in the directory.

Anarchy reigned in France; the royalists of the west and the south had again risen against the directors. Italy was lost, Joubert had been killed, and the French defeated in the bloody battle of Novi, and the allies were marching towards the French frontiers through Holland and Switzerland, where they were stopped by Brune and Massena. Bonaparte having learned the condition of affairs and the state of public feeling, resolved to return to France immediately. He was preceded thither by the report of a fresh and brilliant victory. Eighteen thousand Turks having made an attack in the roadstead of Aboukir, Bonaparte, supported by Murat, Lannes, and Bessières, routed and annihilated them. Directly after this he set out, leaving Kléber in command of the army in Egypt, traversed the Mediterranean in the frigate *Muiron,* escaped the English fleet as by a miracle, and disembarked in the gulf of Frejus on October 9, 1799, a few days after the celebrated victories of Zurich and Berghem, the first of which had been obtained by Massena over the Russians, while the second had been won in Holland by General Brune over the Duke of York.

An alliance was soon formed between Bonaparte and Sièyes, with the view of overthrowing the constitution. The former, having obtained the military command of the division of Paris by the influence of Sièyes and his supporters, immediately attacked the directors by his proclamations and word of mouth, accusing them of having destroyed France by their acts. Sièyes and Roger-Ducos proceeded to the Tuileries on November 8, and laid down their authority. Their three colleagues attempted to resist, but Barras, in despair, sent in his resignation, while Moulins and Gohier were made prisoners. Now there commenced a struggle between Bonaparte and the council of five hundred. On November 9 the legislative corps proceeded to Saint Cloud, accompanied by a strong military force. Bonaparte presented himself, first of all, to the council of the ancients, and then, when summoned to take the oath of allegiance to the constitution, declared that it was vicious, that the directory was incapable, and appealed to his companions in arms. He afterwards proceeded to the council of five hundred, who sat in the Orangery, where the excitement was already at its height. His presence there created a furious storm, and Lucien, Bonaparte's brother, who presided over the assembly, attempted to defend him;

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but, finding his efforts useless, quitted his seat of office. Bonaparte, after appealing to the troops for support, gave orders for the clearance of the hall in which sat the council of five hundred. A troop of grenadiers entered the hall, under the command of Murat, and executed the order. The grenadiers advanced, and the deputies escaped from before them by the windows, to the cry of "Long live the republic!" There was no longer any free representative system in France, and the republic existed only in name.

It is in the moral state of the country, and not, as some have claimed, in the individual fact of a disagreement between the ancients and the five hundred that one must seek the cause of the ninth of November. The disunity and weakness of the government of the directory and the unity of the army were in great contrast to one another. Able men guided the directory, and for two years it maintained order throughout France; but the principles of the revolution, the party rivalries and jealousies which grew out from the revolution, and even the terms of the constitution itself, caused discord and divisions among its members, and as a consequence it lost the confidence and respect of the French people. The directors represented the government of the old convention, and therefore kept the spirit of the revolution longer than the members of the legislative councils, who, after the elections of 1796 and 1797, became the representatives of the new national feelings. It was inevitable that a conflict should take place between the old and the new ideas. The Jacobins, legally at the head of the government, represented old France; a patriotic, democratic majority of the nation, neither royalist nor Jacobin and still loyal to the principles of the revolution, but opposed to the form it was taking, represented new France. This majority daily becoming more dissatisfied with the directory and its methods naturally turned toward Napoleon Bonaparte, whose Italian victories and wondrous success in concluding the Armistice of Leoben had attracted their attention. The Jacobins won their last victory in the election of September, 1797, but this election showed the weakness of the constitution and reminded France of the hopelessness of a government exposed to party conflicts and personal prejudices. She could not but compare the chaotic and aimless government at Paris with the disciplined and orderly organization which had fought in Italy with such glorious success. To this was added indications of the inefficiency and unsound judgment of the directory in military and

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external affairs. Switzerland and the German states of the Rhine were antagonized by unwise interpretations of natural boundaries; the Second Coalition was formed against France by Russia, Austria, England, Portugal, Naples, and Turkey; Italy was gradually being lost; a few forced loans, a law regarding hostages, and an uprising in the provinces, all these prepared the way for the *coup d'état* of November 9. Fearful of the situation, France willingly yielded herself to that person who more than anyone else was able to cope with the conditions. Napoleon was the personification of successful conquest, of unity, and order, and of the integrity and the prosperity of France. Realizing that the country was exhausted from the revolution, he was able to overthrow the directory. "The Revolution has ended," he declared in his proclamation of December, 1799, and he spoke the truth.

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PART V

THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD. 1799-1814

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Chapter XIX

THE CONSULATE. 1799-1804

THOSE of the members of the two councils who had been Bonaparte's accomplices, or were favorable to the revolution of Brumaire, hastened to establish the new government. Three consuls were provisionally appointed, Sièyes, Roger-Ducos, and Bonaparte. At the same time two legislative committees were selected to prepare a constitution. In this new constitution the authorities intrusted with the drawing up and the maintenance of the laws of the state were the council of state, the tribunate, and the legislative body. The council of state drew up the laws. The tribunate, consisting of a hundred members, publicly discussed the laws which were proposed, and voted their acceptance or rejection; and in this latter case it sent three of its members to discuss the matter with three members of the council of state in the presence of the legislative body. The legislative body, after having heard this discussion in silence, voted on the one side or the other. Finally, the senate, consisting of eighty members, was empowered to annul every law or act of the government which might appear to be an infringment of the principles of the constitution.

At the head of the executive power was placed, by Bonaparte's desire, three consuls, the first of whom, himself, was to have the initiative in and the supreme direction of all public affairs.

When Bonaparte had been proclaimed chief consul he selected as second and third consuls Cambacérès, formerly a member of the convention, but who had taken part neither with the Girondists nor the Mountain, and Le Brun, formerly a coadjutor of the Chancellor Maupeou. The consuls having been thus appointed, nominated thirty-one senators, who elected sixty more. The senate then chose a hundred tribunes and three hundred legislators. Bonaparte appointed the members of the council of state. The constitution of the year VIII. was submitted for the approval of the people, and received more than three millions of votes in its favor.

Bonaparte, in compliance with the general wish of the nation,

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offered to make peace with England, but that power refused his offer. England's prime minister was at this time the celebrated William Pitt, who, infusing all the energy of an inflexible will into his animosity against France, skillfully kept alive the fear and dislike which the continental monarchs felt for the First Consul, and finally seduced them into adherence to a system of extermination against France by the payment of enormous subsidies. In this way he long retained the support of Russia and Austria, but the former abandoned England in the campaign of 1800, and towards the end of the same year the Czar made himself the head of a maritime alliance, which was joined by Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia. These powers acted in concert with France and the United States, and renewed the celebrated declaration of an armed neutrality, signed in 1780, for the purpose of protecting the freedom of commerce, and freeing the ocean from the tyranny of the English. Austria alone persevered on the Continent in the struggle against France, and English gold supported her armies.

Bonaparte threw the whole military strength of the republic upon the Rhine and the Alps. Moreau had the army of the Rhine and the First Consul reserved to himself the army of Italy. The former, being ordered to invade the defiles of the Black Forest, took the important position of Stockach, and gained several victories in succession, which led Baron Kray, the general of the Austrian forces in Germany, to concentrate his troops to defend the line of the Danube, thus rendering himself unable to aid the Austrian army under Melas in Italy. Upon this Bonaparte proceeded to carry the war suddenly upon the Po, between Milan, Genoa, and Turin. The passage of the French troops and artillery was effected over the crest of the Alps in May, 1800, and the army speedily found itself at the foot of the further side of the Saint-Bernard, while Melas, without any fear, occupied with a portion of his forces the line of the Po. Seventeen thousand Austrian troops were on the Var, in France, and General Ott, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, was pressing forward the siege of Genoa, which still held out, intrepidly defended by the feeble army of the Maritime Alps, under Massena, Soult, and Suchet. The pass of Susa was speedily traversed by the French army, and Bonaparte, after crossing the Adda and taking a part of his troops over the Po, attacked General Ott at Montebello before he had had time to effect his junction with Melas, and obtained a first victory.

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On June 13, 1800, the French took up a position between the Bormida and the village of Marengo, which they rendered so famous. On the following day a desperate encounter took place in which the Austrians were completely defeated. Melas in vain attempted to defend Marengo, which was taken, and gave its name to this celebrated victory, which rendered the French masters of Italy. In a state of consternation he asked to negotiate, and the convention of Alexandria speedily restored to France all that had been lost within the preceding fifteen months, with the exception of Mantua.

As this treaty was only a military convention it was necessary that the army of the Danube should force Austria to ratify it. Moreau forced the passage of Lech, took Augsburg, and obtained another victory at Neuburg. The Archduke John advanced with a hundred and twenty thousand men to meet Moreau, who defeated him, with terrible loss, at Hohenlinden, near the river Iser.

This brilliant victory and the capture of Salzburg opened to Moreau the road to Vienna. The victor pursued his march and obtained a fresh victory at Schwanstadt. The lines of Inn, the Salzach, and the Danube were crossed. The fortress of Linz was taken, and the French were now only a few marches distant from Vienna. In this extreme peril a truce was demanded, which was only obtained on condition that Austria should renounce its alliance with England. Peace was signed at Luneville on February 9, 1801, between France, Austria, and the empire, and by this France secured possession of Belgium and the German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, which now formed the boundary line between France and Germany. Separate treaties were signed by France with the courts of Spain and Naples, by which the latter powers engaged to close their ports against English vessels. Spain, moreover, undertook to keep off such vessels from the coasts of Portugal, and received for this purpose a French army, which the first consul placed under the orders of the Spanish government.

England now found itself alone in arms against the whole of the maritime powers, but the influence of France in Egypt had been severely shaken. Kléber, considering himself unable to maintain hold of the country without reinforcements, which were withheld, concluded the Convention of El-Arisch with the Sultan, by which it was agreed that the French should evacuate Egypt on honorable terms. The English fleet at this time was blockading the

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ports of Egypt, and Admiral Keith wrote to Kléber to inform him that England refused to recognize the Convention of El-Arisch and that it would consent to no capitulation unless the French troops laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners. Upon this Kléber prepared to fight and defeated the Turks at Heliopolis. He next subdued a revolt in Cairo excited by the Mamelukes, and would have maintained Egypt for France had he not been assassinated on June 14, the day of the battle of Marengo. He was succeeded as commander-in-chief by General Menou, who allowed himself to be surrounded by an English army. After the unfortunate battle of Canopa, Cairo capitulated. Alexandria, in which Menou had shut himself up, speedily shared the same fate and the French army was compelled to evacuate Egypt.

England had taken possession of the Dutch colonies of Sinnamari, Guiana, the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon, together with the French colonies, and Malta had fallen into its power. Nelson had attacked Copenhagen and forced the Danes. Paul I., of Russia, the most powerful supporter of the maritime league of the neutral powers, perished by assassination, and his young successor, Alexander, adopted a different policy. The league was then dissolved by the force of circumstances, and England remained sovereign of the seas. In the meantime various causes rendered England desirous of peace. The First Consul had collected at Boulogne, in preparation for the invasion of England, an immense flotilla of gunboats, which Nelson had attacked without being able either to destroy or disperse, and a French army was ready to cross the Channel. This and other circumstances rendered peace as desirable for England as it was for France. Pitt was replaced in the cabinet by Addington. England offered to treat, and the First Consul accepted the offer. The preliminaries of peace were signed by the two governments in September, 1801; while it was definitely concluded at Amiens on March 25, 1802. Separate treaties, the natural consequences of the Peace of Amiens, were signed by France with Portugal, Bavaria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, Algiers and Tunis, and thus the world was for a time at peace.

The First Consul had striven with all his energy to suppress factions at home. He revoked by a decree of amnesty the law which prevented a hundred and fifty thousand emigrants from

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1801

returning to France, and gained over many royalist leaders. Georges Cadoudal and other Vendean leaders capitulated and the war in the west was brought to an end. Several plots, however, were formed against Bonaparte by the extreme republicans and royalists, but none of these was successful and all persons suspected of participation in them were punished in a most arbitrary manner. Bonaparte from this time forth displayed on many occasions a violent and despotic character, and a party hostile to his government was formed in the great bodies of the state, which had at its head, in the senate, Lanjuinais, Grégoire, Garat, Cabanis, and, in the tribunate, Isnard, Daunou, Andrieux, Chènier and Benjamin Constant.

The difficult circumstances in the midst of which his authority had come into existence rendered it almost indispensable that the dictatorship, of which at this period he generally made a salutary use, should remain for some time in his hands. For anarchy, which prevailed in every direction, he substituted order. He established regularity in the civil and military administration, and the civil code which he now projected was a monument of genius, and became a model of legislation for Europe. The subjects of public instruction, the institute, commerce, industry, the roads, the ports and the arsenals also attracted the notice and thoughtfulness of the First Consul. With the assistance of Monge and Berthollet he gave a better organization to the polytechnic school, which had been established during the government of the convention. Assisted by the able minister Gaudin, he reëstablished order in the finances, and being convinced that religion is the surest support of morality, he reëstablished public worship in France, and signed with Pope Pius VII. a concordat, by which the Catholic religion was recognized as that of the majority of the French. He further resolved to bestow a reward for merit in whatever rank he might find it, and for this purpose established the Order of the Legion of Honor, of which he declared himself the head.

The First Consul, while so active in promoting the national interest, neglected nothing which might confirm his authority, and after having obtained for his consulate ten years' prolongation, he caused himself to be appointed consul for life, and obtained the privilege of appointing his successor. Two days later the constitution of the year X. was decreed by a *senatus consul-*

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tum. To the senate was given power to suspend the functions of the jury, to place the departments beyond the pale of the constitution, to annul the decisions of the tribunals which had been instituted in the departments and their subdivisions, and to dissolve the legislative corps and the tribunate. The number of the tribunes was reduced to fifty, and Bonaparte selected for himself, in addition to the council of state, a privy council, small in numbers, whose principal duty was to deliberate on affairs which required secrecy. All the citizens had been invited to give their opinions with respect to the establishment of the consulship for life, and out of 3,577,299 votes on the registers, only 8,000 were given against it.

In January, 1802, the First Consul convoked at Lyons the deputies of the Cisalpine republic, which was to be henceforward known as the Italian republic, and bestowed a new constitution upon it, he himself becoming its president. In the course of the same year, 1802, Bonaparte compelled the Swiss cantons to accept the celebrated Act of Mediation, which enforced equality of rights among the different portions of the Helvetian territory. The Act of Mediation preserved the sovereignty of the cantons, while it established a national diet for the purpose of superintending the general interests of the confederacy, and this has remained almost the same to the present day. In addition to this he also succeeded in inducing the German diet, assembled at Ratisbon in 1803, to regulate the indemnities to be given to the princes, ecclesiastical and secular, who had been deprived of their domains by the arrangements of the Peace of Amiens, to remodel the whole constitution of the German empire, the composition of the diet, and that of the imperial body of electors in a manner favorable to France. The French colony of Louisiana in North America he sold to the United States for eighty millions of francs.

In the meantime England had observed all the clauses of the treaty with one exception. The island of Malta was not yet evacuated, and this fatal delay was caused by the omission on the part of the French government to obtain the guarantees of Russia and Prussia for the execution of the Treaty of Amiens as agreed. To all the causes of jealousy and irritation which the First Consul had recently given to England by his almost despotic interference in the affairs of the Continent was now added another by the sudden annexation to France of Piedmont without any compensation

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to the king, Charles Emmanuel, the ally of England. So arbitrary an act raised the exasperation of the English people to its height, and the outcries of the public press and of the members of the opposition in Parliament, who were led by Grenville and Canning, would not permit the English government to evacuate Malta before it had obtained from the First Consul explanations with respect to these aggressive acts, and of his encroachments in Europe. Bonaparte replied by threats and invectives against England and demanding the expulsion of the Bourbons from the country and the immediate evacuation of Malta. The English government proposed to surrender Malta after two years, in exchange for another small island in the Mediterranean. But Bonaparte, impelled by his pride, or, as he chose to phrase it, compelled for the honor of France to refuse any concession whatever, chose rather for the sake of the immediate possession of a rock in the Mediterranean, to tear in pieces the most glorious treaty which France had ever signed, and Europe was plunged into the horrors of an endless war. The war commenced on either side by savage acts unworthy of civilized nations. The English fleet, on the one hand, fired on merchant vessels in various seas before hostilities had been openly declared, and the French consul, on the other hand, ordered, as a reprisal, the arrest of all the English traveling on the Continent, many of whom remained prisoners until the close of this long and frightful war.

At the same time a dangerous plot was formed against the life of the First Consul, and for the restoration of the Bourbons, by the Chouan and royalist chiefs. Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal were at their head, and Moreau was their confidant, but not their accomplice. The conspiracy was discovered in February, 1804, and Moreau, Pichegru and Cadoudal were arrested. This event was followed by a scandalous violation of the law of nations in the seizure of the Duke of Enghien, the last of the princely race of Condé, at Ettenheim, in Baden, and his murder, for it was nothing better, in the moat of Vincennes, after going through the mockery of a trial before a military commission. The pretext for this act was that the duke was seeking to conspire against Bonaparte's government and had taken part in a meeting of emigrants on the Rhine frontier. All Bonaparte's glory has not served to obliterate the remembrance of this bloody catastrophe.

Paris, France, and Europe were still deeply moved by so

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gross an outrage, when the trial of Pichegru and Moreau commenced. Pichegru, despairing of pardon from the First Consul or disdaining it, strangled himself in prison. Moreau was condemned to two years' imprisonment, which Bonaparte commuted to exile to the United States. Out of forty-seven persons tried, seventeen were condemned to death, and among these were Georges Cadoudal, Charles of Rivière, and Armand of Polignac. The punishment of the two latter was commuted; but the first died, as he had lived, without giving a sign of weakness.

The war against Great Britain and Pichegru's conspiracy assisted Bonaparte to raise himself from the consulate to the imperial crown; but first of all he added to the powers of the senate, which had already been so greatly extended. This body was but a docile instrument in his hands, and when he had triumphed over all resistance in France he caused it to request him to govern the republic under the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, and with the title of hereditary emperor. Accordingly the empire was proclaimed on May 18, 1804. The constitution now underwent fresh modifications. The senate was constituted guardian of individual liberty; freedom of debate was restored to the legislative corps; the powers of the members of the tribunate were prolonged from five to ten years, but this latter body was divided into three sections, and it was forbidden to debate in a general assembly. Finally, a high imperial court was created, endowed with most of the judicial attributes which were subsequently possessed by the court of peers. The new constitution recognized the emperor's two brothers, Louis and Joseph, as capable of being his successors, and they were nominated respectively grand elector and constable of the empire. The posts of arch-chancellor and arch-treasurer were given to Cambacérès and Lebrun. Beneath these and two other great dignitaries, the arch-chancellor of state and the grand-admiral, were fifty grand officers, partly civil and partly military, at the head of whom were fourteen marshals of the empire, Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davout, and Bessières. Napoleon desired that his reign should be sanctioned as well by the clergy as the people, and he obtained the approval of each. The new emperor was accepted by an immense majority of the French people, and at his earnest request Pope Pius VII. went to Paris to bestow upon his unheard-of success the seal of

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1804

religious consecration. On December 2, 1804, in the church of Notre Dame, Napoleon, accompanied by his wife, Josephine, the beautiful widow of the Marquis of Beauharnais, and surrounded by the great bodies of the state and the great dignitaries of the church, was consecrated emperor of the French by the sovereign Pontiff. But instead of receiving the crown from the Pope's hands, he took it from the altar himself and placed it on his own head.

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Chapter XX

THE EMPIRE OF NAPOLEON I. 1804-1811

NAPOLEON now desired to add to the title of emperor of the French that of King of Italy, and the representatives of the Italian republic decided that that country should be made a separate kingdom. He immediately repaired to Milan, and girding his brows with the iron crown of the Lombard kings, declared that he only temporarily added it to his own, and appointed Eugene de Beauharnais, his stepson, viceroy of Italy. The establishment of this kingdom, the sudden and violent annexation of the city of Genoa and the principality of Lucca to the empire, the immense exertions of the English government, now again directed by Pitt, and the indignation excited in Europe by the death of the Duke of Enghien, resulted in the formation of a third coalition against France by England, Austria and Russia. Bavaria made common cause with France, Prussia remained neutral, and Spain also was unwilling to join the enemies of France. England declared that Spain had broken its neutrality by affording a refuge to some French vessels blockaded in the ports of Ferrol and Cadiz, and demanded their expulsion. Upon its refusing to do so, England declared war against it and thus drove Spain into an alliance with France. Napoleon at this time once more contemplated a descent upon England, and again assembled a vast force with this object at Boulogne, and an immense flotilla of light boats for the purpose of conveying the army of invasion across the Channel, and landing it on the opposite coast. But an English fleet defended the passage, and several of its divisions blockaded the French squadrons in the ports of Brest and Ferrol. A second English fleet, under Nelson, cruised in the Mediterranean and watched the French fleet shut up in the port of Toulon. The Toulon fleet was ordered to sail to Martinique, and there await the arrival of the Brest fleet, return with it to Europe, raise the blockade of Ferrol and the coast of Spain, and finally return to the Channel, where the united fleets, consisting of sixty vessels, would be superior to that of the English. Napoleon

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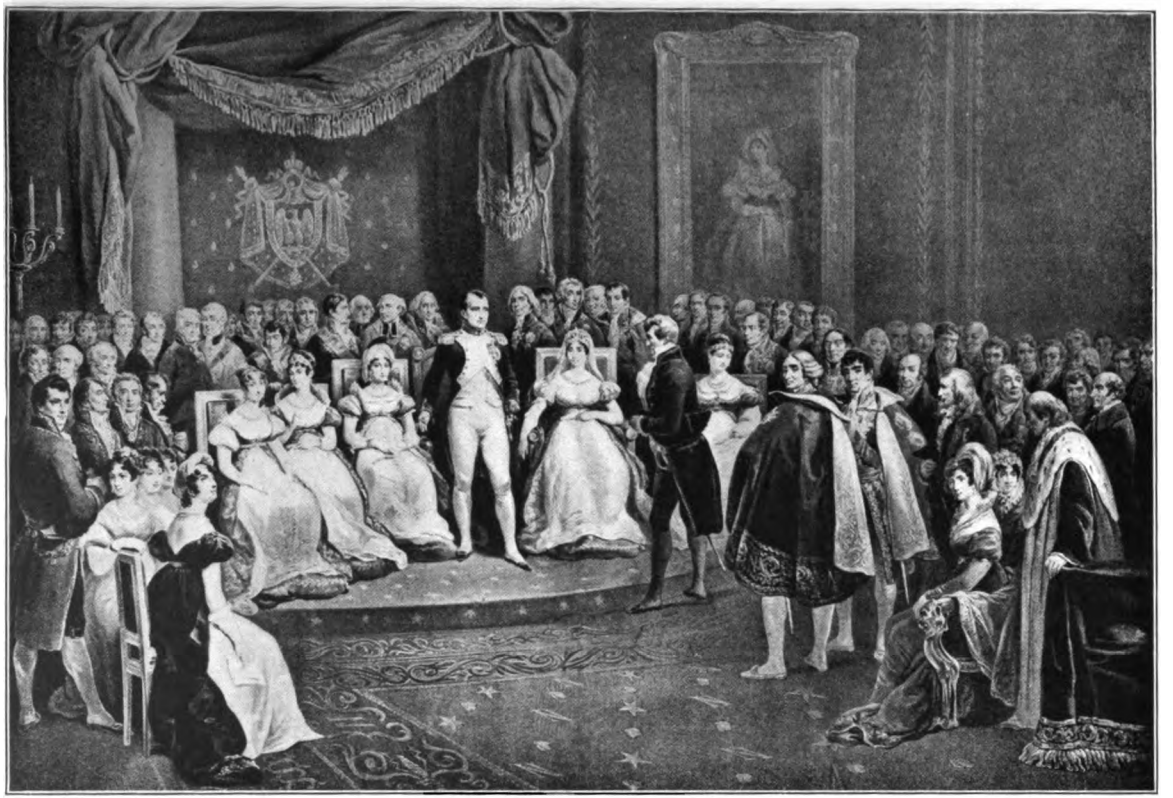

THE COURT OF NAPOLEON I

On his right Josephine; on his left his mother

Painting by Victor Adam

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believed that this plan would render him master of the Channel for four-and-twenty hours, which would be sufficient time to enable him to land his army on the opposite coast, when England would be already conquered. In accordance with this plan, Villeneuve, who commanded the Toulon fleet, having escaped Nelson in the Mediterranean and joined Admiral Gravina and the Spanish squadron in Cadiz, proceeded to the Antilles, and after having waited in vain for the Brest fleet, sailed to Europe and fought a glorious battle off Ferrol with the English fleet commanded by Admiral Calder, after which they formed a junction with two fresh divisions, the one French and the other Spanish. The Brest fleet being too closely watched by the English fleet to quit the port, Villeneuve was ordered to raise the blockade of Brest and release the fleet there. Failing the success of this maneuver, he was ordered to sail, with all his forces, into the Channel, and protect Napoleon's passage, at the risk of losing half the fleet, if necessary. Villeneuve could not understand that these orders were to be obeyed at any hazard, and firmly believing that the result of a battle was much more likely to be the destruction of the French navy than the conquest of England, he lost all confidence, and, instead of sailing to the English channel, he made for Cadiz. When informed of this fact, the anger of Napoleon was equal to his grief, and it burst forth against Villeneuve in the most vehement and terrible expressions. No enterprise had ever been planned with greater care, and none more completely baffled by unforeseen chances.[1]

It now became necessary for Napoleon to march against the Russians and Austrians. A hundred and twenty thousand Austrians were marching in three corps, under the archdukes Ferdinand, John, and Charles, towards the Rhine and the Adige, and two Russian armies were advancing to join them. Napoleon, quitting the camp of Boulogne, hastened to meet them, and within twenty days the French army passed from the coast of the Atlantic to the banks of the Rhine. He crossed that river in October, 1805, with a hundred and sixty thousand men, divided into six corps, and advanced by the Alps and Suabia across Germany. The Danube was crossed in its turn and Napoleon's lieutenants fought a series of glorious

[1] It is not certain that Napoleon ever seriously intended to invade England. The camp at Boulogne offered a good excuse for the maintenance of a large army that might on short notice be turned against Austria. See Fournier, "Napoleon I.," p. 283 ff.

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conflicts. Murat was victorious at Wertingen and at Günzburg, General Dupont at Hasslach, and Ney at Elchingen, while the Austrian army under Mack was driven back to the city of Ulm, where Mack capitulated on October 20. The Austrians in Lombardy, under the Archduke Charles, were prevented from marching to the assistance of Vienna by Massena, who, to stop them, fought the bloody battle of Caldiero. The archduke was compelled to fall back southwards, and Napoleon, driving the Austrians before him, crossed the Danube and entered Vienna. The Russians now entered Moravia, where they rallied the ranks of the Austrian army. Napoleon encountered them in the environs of Brunn, on the plain of Austerlitz, where he gained a decisive victory over the allies on December 2, 1805. Fifteen thousand Austrians and Russians perished, twenty thousand were taken prisoners, and forty flags, with two hundred pieces of cannon, were the trophies of this memorable victory.

Triumphant on the Continent, France suffered terrible disasters at sea. Her fleet, united with the Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, after having been beaten at Cape Finisterre, lost, on October 21, the celebrated battle of Trafalgar. This great victory, which cost the life of the English admiral, secured to England the sovereignty of the seas. The victory of the English at Trafalgar was productive of the most serious consequences to the court of Naples, which had recently bound itself by treaty to neutrality. Hearing that Prussia was about to join the coalition, and that the French fleet had been destroyed at Trafalgar, it concluded that Napoleon was lost and received into the kingdom twelve thousand English and six thousand Russians, with whom were joined forty thousand Neapolitans, for the purpose of exciting Italy to revolt in the rear of the French army in Austria. This caused the fall of the Bourbons of Naples, who were overlooked in the negotiations for peace after the battle of Austerlitz. Napoleon granted an armistice to the Austrians and Russians, and signed with Prussia, on December 14, 1805, at Schönbrunn, an offensive and defensive alliance, by which France ceded Hanover to Prussia in exchange for the duchy of Cleves, the principality of Neufchâtel, and the marquisate of Anspach, which Napoleon soon exchanged with Bavaria for the duchy of Berg. Ten days later, December 25, Napoleon forced on the Emperor Joseph the hard Treaty of Presburg, by which Venetia, Friuli, Istria and Dalmatia, were

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1805-1806

transferred from Austria to the kingdom of Italy, and Austria also ceded the Tyrol to Bavaria and received in exchange the ecclesiastical principality of Wurzburg. The two electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemburg were raised to the rank of kingdoms. Finally, Austria had to pay for the expenses of the war, a contribution of fifty millions.

On returning to Paris Napoleon set to work to remove the last vestige of the revolutionary institutions. The republican calendar was replaced by the Gregorian calendar, and it was ordered that on August 15 the fête of Napoleon should be celebrated throughout the empire. Napoleon further declared that the House of Naples had lost its crown as punishment for the part it had taken in the late coalition, and transferred the Neapolitan scepter to his brother Joseph. He made the republic of the United Provinces a kingdom for his brother Louis, and made Prince Murat, his brother-in-law, Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg. He endeavored to establish the military hierarchic régime of feudal times, and transformed various provinces and principalities into grand fiefs of the empire, which he bestowed as rewards upon his ministers and most illustrious generals. Two years later he struck the final blow at republican institutions by creating a new hereditary nobility, in which those who were illustrious of old took rank for the most part after the celebrities of the day.

In the year 1806 negotiations for peace were commenced between France and England. Napoleon, resolved to complete the ruin of the Bourbons, who still reigned in Sicily, demanded that that island should be annexed to his brother's state, and to induce England not to oppose this fresh conquest he offered in exchange the restoration of Hanover, which had already been ceded to Prussia. This, however, was refused, and the negotiations were broken off. In the meantime Napoleon completed the organization of his military empire by rendering the old Germanic confederation dependent on him. On July 12, 1806, fourteen princes of the south and west of Germany formed the Confederation of the Rhine, and recognized Napoleon as their protector. This confederation enfeebled Prussia and Austria as much as it added apparently to the power of Napoleon. The Emperor Francis II. was, among the sovereigns of Germany, the one whose rights were most infringed upon, but he was too weak to make any opposition. He abdicated the title of Emperor of Germany,

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and retained only, under the name of Francis I., the title of Emperor of Austria, which he had assumed in 1804. Thus ended the Germanic empire, after it had existed for a thousand years. In the meantime the King of Prussia, Frederick William, greatly irritated against Napoleon, who, after having guaranteed him the possession of Hanover, had offered it to England, had resolved to form in Germany a confederation of the states of the north, in opposition to the Confederation of the Rhine, and he demanded, as a first condition of the maintenance of peace, the retreat of all the French troops in Germany to the further side of the Rhine. Napoleon, indignant at a coalition which he regarded as an insult, would not allow Saxony and the Hanseatic towns to join the northern league, and rejected the Prussian ultimatum, upon which Frederick William determined upon war, and invaded Saxony. Russia, Sweden, and England immediately formed with Prussia the fourth coalition against France.

Napeolon lost no time in marching to meet the Prussian army, and maneuvered with extreme celerity so as to surround the enemy, cut off his communications, and close against him his line of retreat. The enemy was successively driven back to Schleitz and to Saalfeld. A few days afterwards the French army, as it was preparing to cross the Saale at three points, encountered at Jena a great portion of the Prussian army under Prince Hohenlohe. Napoleon ordered the attack and a general engagement ensued. His victory was as complete as it was rapid; the Prussians lost in a few hours twelve thousand men killed or wounded, fifteen thousand prisoners, a multitude of flags, and two hundred pieces of cannon. On the same day, four hours later, Marshal Davout totally defeated the Prussians under the old Duke of Brunswick at Auerstadt. These two great battles decided the campaign.

Nothing now prevented Napoleon from marching to Berlin. He occupied in succession Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Dessau; crossed the Elbe at three points, and on October 28, 1806, entered Berlin in triumph. The line of the Oder was promptly occupied. Murat, Soult, Lannes, and Bernadotte completed the conquest of western and southern Prussia as far as the shores of the Baltic. The unfortunate Frederick William retreated to Königsberg, where he concentrated his last reserves, and within a month the despotic and military monarchy of Frederick the Great appeared to have been almost annihilated.

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1806

Napoleon, everywhere victorious, now used the rights conferred upon him by victory and disposed of crowns by his decrees. The Elector of Hesse was deprived of his states for having refused to take part with France, while the electorate of Saxony, whose prince had taken part with Prussia, against his will and even with regret, was added to the Confederation of the Rhine, and raised to the rank of a kingdom. Napoleon's next care was to attempt to punish England for having joined the coalition, and on November 26, 1806, there appeared at Berlin the famous decree for the closing of the ports of the Continent to the English. This decree declared the British Isles themselves in a state of blockade; interdicted any commerce or communication with them; and ordered the seizure of all English persons and English merchandise which should be found on the territories of France, or on those of her allies. Every nation which did not submit to the system set forth in this decree was declared by it to be an enemy of France. This blow at British commerce, which nevertheless injured all the nations to whom commerce with the United Kingdom was a vital necessity, doubtless inflicted immense loss upon England, but it did not place that power at her rival's discretion, as Napoleon had hoped, but led her, on the contrary, to adopt a series of measures which precipitated his fall.

Frederick William, although vanquished and almost entirely dispossessed, had not lost all hope. He had collected, between Thorn and Königsberg, under General Lestocq, about thirty thousand men, his last resource, and Russian troops under old General Kraminski advanced to his aid across Poland. Divided into two corps under Generals Benningsen and Buntofden, they approached the Vistula, and would have attacked the French in concert with the Prussians if they had not been prevented by their rapid movements. Victorious on the fields of Jena and Auerstadt, Napoleon had resolved to march to fight the Russians on the plains of Poland, and two French armies, each consisting of about eighty thousand men, and divided into nine corps, marched upon the Vistula at the commencement of November.

Several indecisive conflicts, in which the French generally had the advantage, took place at the commencement of this campaign and on December 6 the French obtained a decisive victory at Pultusk, where Marshal Lannes vanquished and repulsed Benningsen's division. The inclemency of the season and snow com-

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pelled Napoleon to halt in Poland, where he passed the winter, posting his various corps in front of the Vistula, from Elbing, near the Baltic, up to Warsaw, and sending Marshal Lefevre to invest Dantzic.

The Russian general, Benningsen, however, ventured to carry on the campaign during the winter, and endeavored to surprise the French army in its cantonments by turning its positions on the shore of the Baltic, and crossing the Vistula with the Prussian corps of General Lestocq, between Thorn and Marienburg. But his plan was divined and frustrated. Then Benningsen concentrated his forces at the strong position of Jonkorvo, on the Alle, while Napoleon broke up his camps and marched to attack him. But Benningsen fell back before the French, who descended the course of the Alle in pursuit of him, and ultimately halted beyond Eylau and took up a position, resolved to give battle as soon as General Lestocq and the Prussians should arrive. There he was attacked by Napoleon just before the Prussians could effect a junction with him, on February 7, 1807. A desperate encounter ensued, in which Benningsen was defeated with immense losses, and compelled to retreat on the following day.

Napoleon pursued the Russians as far as Königsberg, and beyond the Pregel, after which he returned to take up his winter quarters beyond the lower Vistula, between Elbing and Thorn, in order to cover the siege of Dantzic, which, in spite of all the efforts made by Benningsen to relieve it, surrendered May 24, 1807.

Turkey was at this time the scene of serious events. The French ambassador at Constantinople, General Sebastiani, was making great efforts to induce the Sultan Selim to ally himself with France, when forty thousand Russians suddenly crossed the Dniester under pretense of securing the execution of treaties. This sudden invasion of Turkey had been concerted with the English government, who proposed to send its own fleet through the strait of the Dardanelles; and when the Sultan ordered the Russian envoy to leave Constantinople, the English ambassador threatened to have the city bombarded by the English fleet if the Sultan did not immediately ally himself with England and Russia against France. The Sultan hesitated to incur the threatened peril, but Sebastiani revived his courage and armed Constantinople with formidable batteries; so that when, in March, 1807, the English fleet appeared before the city, a terrible fire

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1807

compelled it to repass the Dardanelles considerably damaged. France, nevertheless, derived but little advantage from this success, for a revolt of the Janissaries soon afterwards took place at Constantinople, and Selim was deposed.

The war continued in Poland and eastern Prussia, where the Russians, under Benningsen and Bagration, reopened the campaign in the spring, and Napoleon, after the fall of Dantzic, resumed the offensive. He marched upon Königsberg, and defeated the enemy in the battles of Gudstadt, Spanden, and Heilsburg. Benningsen having retreated for the purpose of covering Königsberg, Napoleon followed him, and on June 14 encountered the Russians before Friedland. Again they were defeated with great loss, and Friedland was taken and burned. Königsberg, after this bloody battle, opened its gates, and there remained nothing more of the Prussian monarchy.

Napoleon now marched towards the Niemen in pursuit of the Russians, and on June 19 came up with them on the banks of that river, which flowed between the two armies. But there his victorious march came to a halt; for Alexander, vanquished, asked for peace, and expressed a desire to see his conqueror. A raft was constructed near Tilsit, on the Niemen, for the solemn interview between the czar and the emperor, and this interview took place in the sight of the two armies assembled on the river's banks. Peace was at length concluded at Tilsit by treaties signed by France, Russia, and Prussia. The principal clauses of this treaty were: the restoration to Prussia of old Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg and Silesia; the cession to France of all the provinces on the left of the Elbe, for the purpose of incorporating them with the grand duchy of Hesse, and making of the whole a kingdom of Westphalia; the conversion of Posen and Warsaw into a Polish state, which, under the title of the grand duchy of Warsaw, should be given to the King of Saxony, and should form part of the Confederation of the Rhine; the recognition of this confederation by Russia and Prussia and the recognition of Napoleon's brothers, Louis, Joseph and Jerome, as the kings of Holland, Naples and Westphalia. Finally, it was agreed, in a secret clause, to call upon the European powers to adhere to the continental blockade, and to close their ports against England, and declare war against it.

England was much dismayed when she found Russia with-

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drawn from her influence. Wishing to retain at any price a footing in the Baltic, she demanded that Denmark should form with her an alliance offensive and defensive, and that, as a guarantee of good faith, she should surrender her fleet and her capital into her hands. The king refused, and on September 2, 1807, Copenhagen was subjected to a frightful bombardment, and the Danish fleet fell into hands of the English. Denmark avenged herself for this act by immediately adhering to the continental blockade.

At the end of 1807 Portugal was the only continental state which remained under the direct influence of Great Britain, and Napoleon signed on October 27, 1807, at Fontainebleau, a treaty with Spain, by which Portugal, as a punishment for her alliance with England, was to be divided almost entirely between the Queen of Etruria and Godoy, who governed the Spanish monarchy. This treaty declared Charles IV., King of Spain, suzerain of the two states thus to be formed out of Portugal. The *Moniteur* announced on November 15, 1807, that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign. A body of French troops, under the orders of Junot, were sent to Lisbon, charged with the execution of this sentence, and before their arrival the Prince Regent of Portugal embarked for Brazil, abandoning to the invading army his capital and fleet. This rapid success, and the scandalous divisions in the Spanish royal family, inflamed Napoleon's ambition, and he accustomed himself to look upon the Peninsula as his conquest. The weak Charles IV., who was entirely under the influence of Godoy, the queen's favorite, had rendered himself contemptible in the eyes of all his subjects, while his son, Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, had become their idol by declaring himself the opponent of the odious favorite. In 1808 Napoleon sent an army into Spain. Charles IV. and the queen were struck with consternation. Godoy advised them to retire to the southern provinces, but Ferdinand opposed the execution of this project, and having called on the people and the troops to support him, arrested Godoy, made his father prisoner, and forced him to abdicate, and then made a triumphal entry into Madrid as King of Spain. Murat had preceded him with his army. Charles IV. protested against his forced abdication, and Murat refused to recognize Ferdinand as king. Napoleon then invited the king and his son to meet him at Bayonne, ostensibly to decide upon their differences, but having got them

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1808

into his power, he detained Ferdinand as a prisoner, and sent the king to Compiègne, after inducing him to resign the crown in his favor. In the meantime Murat kept possession of Madrid, and the council of Castile, under the pressure of French influence, requested that Joseph, Napoleon's eldest brother, become King of Spain. An assembly of Spanish notables was immediately convoked at Bayonne, where the emperor organized a junta to carry on a provisional government. Joseph gave up to Murat the crown of Naples, and immediately quitting that capital, reached Bayonne on June 7, when he was declared King of Spain. The assembly at Bayonne voted a constitution, which Joseph swore to observe, and on July 9 he was on his way to Spain. But already the Spaniards, indignant and furious, had risen in arms. A provisional government assembled at Seville annulled all the acts of the junta at Bayonne. The Spaniards signalized their vengeance in Cadiz and other places by massacres and atrocities, declaring war to the death against the French, and the Portuguese following their example. In the meantime Bessières was victorious at Medina de Rio-Secco, and his victory opened the gates of Madrid to King Joseph, who made his entrance into that capital on July 20. But immediately afterwards General Dupont made a disgraceful capitulation at Baylen and surrendered with twenty-six thousand troops. This terrible check shook the power of the French in the Peninsula, and reanimated the Spaniards, the result being that Joseph had to quit Madrid eight days after he had entered it in solemn state.

Portugal also rose, and an English army disembarked there under the orders of Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Lord Wellington. Junot, with ten thousand men only, ventured to fight the battle of Vimiera against twenty-six thousand English and Portuguese. He was soon vanquished, and soon after signed the Capitulation of Cintra, which at least allowed him to retreat to France with honor. Portugal was now evacuated by the French, and Joseph's only possessions in Spain were Barcelona, Navarre, and Biscay. Napoleon chafed when he learned the reverses suffered by his arms in the Peninsula, and resolved that his best generals and his German and Italian armies should cross the Pyrenees to efface the disgrace suffered at Baylen and stifle at its birth an insurrection so threatening and unexpected. Napoleon being resolved to subdue Spain, confirmed at Erfurt, in Septem-

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ber and October, 1808, his alliance with Alexander. The Russian troops had taken possession of Finland in the north and in the south had invaded the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, while the French troops invaded Spain. The two sovereigns signed a treaty at Erfurt in 1808, by which Napoleon recognized the three provinces invaded by Russia as an integral portion of that empire, and Alexander, in return, recognized the Napoleonic dynasty in Spain, and, in case France should be at war with Austria, engaged to assist her against the latter power. Napoleon now marched into Spain, accompanied by his great captains and at the head of his veterans, and victory, therefore, was certain. The Spaniards were defeated on November 10, 1808, by Soult, at Burgos, and on the following day by Victor at Espinosa and by Lannes at Tudela. In December the French army entered Madrid, and Joseph Bonaparte was replaced on the throne. A division of the English army in Portugal, under the orders of Sir John Moore, was on its march to cover this capital, but at the news of the disasters suffered by the Spanish armies it retreated before Napoleon upon Astorga and Corunna. Marshal Soult followed it up closely and attacked the British troops when on the point of embarkation at the latter port (January 16, 1809). He was repulsed by Sir John Moore, who lost his life in the action, and the English embarked on the following day.

In the meantime Austria emboldened by the absence of Napoleon, and by the revolt of the Tyrolese against the Bavarians, formed a fifth coalition with England. The Archduke Charles accepted the command of the troops, which amounted to five hundred thousand men, divided into eight corps. Two, under the Archduke Ferdinand, were to invade Poland; three others, under the Archduke John, were to march into Italy and the Tyrol, while the other corps, assembled on the Bohemian frontier, were to march upon the Rhine, arousing on their way the whole of Germany. The French troops in these countries did not amount at this time to more than a hundred and thirty thousand men, who were dispersed from the Baltic to the Danube, under the command of Davout and Oudinot. Eugene de Beauharnais occupied Piedmont and Italy with a few divisions. At the first rumor of the intention of Austria, and the movement of her armies, Napoleon left Spain, and on April 17, 1809, arrived on the Danube, when owing to his orders for the concentration of his

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1809

troops having been misunderstood by Berthier, he found Davout at Ratisbon, and Massena thirty leagues distant, at Augsburg, the allies of France, the Bavarians, the Wurtemberg troops, and the rest of the army of the Confederation of the Rhine occupying a position midway between them. The intention of the archduke was to force the center of the French army by passing between the corps of Davout and Massena. Napoleon saw the peril, and taking advantage of the hesitation shown by the enemy on his arrival, kept him for two days almost motionless, concealing from him the weakness of the forces at his disposal in the center, in front of him. He ordered Davout and Massena to approach each other as fast as possible, and to join the army of the confederation in the environs of Ingolstadt. The Archduke Charles, who dared not risk a forward movement, marched towards the right bank of the Danube, and took possession of Ratisbon, which Davout was quitting. Victorious at the battle of Thann, Davout effected a junction with the center and on April 19 Napoleon saw the whole of his army concentrated under his hand. The four following days were marked by the victories of Abensberg, in which the emperor broke the archduke's line, took possession of his base of operations, routed his left, and took its artillery and magazines; of Eckmühl, in which on April 22 he vanquished the whole of the enemy's army, and drove it back between the Iser and the Danube; and of Ratisbon, which Napoleon took on April 23 after a bloody battle. Prince Charles retreated upon the frontier of Bohemia, and the French marched upon Vienna, which Napoleon entered on May 13. The war, however, was not at an end, for the Emperor Francis had retreated to Znaim with large forces, and the Archduke Charles marched towards the capital by the left bank of the Danube, and soon took up a position opposite Vienna on the famous plains of Wagram. To attack the archduke it was necessary to cross the Danube, of which the bridges in the neighborhood of Vienna had been destroyed. Napoleon's first step was to throw bridges across the stream at Ebersdorf and occupy the large island of Lobau, which was carried on May 20. Lannes and Massena then crossed from the island to the left bank of the stream, when they took the villages of Essling and Aspern, where they sustained during two days the assault of a hundred thousand Austrians. The villages were five times taken and retaken, and gave their names to these terrible battles. At length

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another portion of the army effected the passage, and joined the intrepid divisions of Lannes and Massena. That under Davout was to follow, but Napoleon, without awaiting his arrival, in his impetuosity attacked an enemy twice as strong, numerically, as himself. Lannes pierced the Austrian center; the archduke was in full retreat, and Napoleon was preparing to follow up his victory when he heard that Davout's corps, on which he had implicitly relied, had been unable to effect the passage of the Danube and that the bridges over the river had been broken. He now found himself compelled to order a retreat, upon which the Austrians rallied and returned against the French in formidable masses, with the intention of surrounding the latter and driving them into the river. But the communications of the French with the isle of Lobau had not been cut off, and it was to this island that Napoleon now led back his troops. Here he was joined on June 14 by the army of Italy under Eugene, who in his march thither had defeated the Austrians under the Archduke John at Piave, Tarwitz, Goritz and Raab, the last of which victories enabled Napoleon to resume the offensive.

After forty days' labor, three immense bridges spanned the Danube, and opened a passage for fifty thousand troops and five hundred pieces of cannon. The army crossed the river on the stormy night of July 4, exposed to a terrific cannonade, and on the following day carried the formidable entrenchments which had been erected opposite the island, between Essling and Aspern. On the following day a fruitless attack was made on the enemy, who occupied strong positions on the hills of Wagram and heights of Russbach, but on July 6 a sanguinary and obstinate contest and the splendid victory of Wagram, as the battle was called, once more placed Austria at the mercy of Napoleon. Francis I. had to obtain peace by means of the most serious sacrifices, and by a treaty of peace signed at Vienna on October 12, 1809, he ceded on the various frontiers of his states, to Italy, Bavaria and Russia, several circles and provinces, and three millions of subjects. He promised, moreover, to pay a heavy war contribution and to adhere to the continental blockade.

The English, in the course of this campaign, had landed in Holland, in the island of Walcheren, forty-five thousand men. Flushing had fallen into their hands after a desperate resistance and they already threatened Antwerp. But fever mowed down

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1809-1810

the English troops by thousands in the island of Walcheren and they were compelled at length to evacuate Zealand, where the town of Flushing alone remained in their power.

On Napoleon's return to Paris he found that a serious misunderstanding had arisen with the court of Rome. Pope Pius VII. had not closed his ports against the English, and, justly displeased at Napoleon's encroachments on his territory, had resolved to refuse the Pontifical bulls to the new French bishops. The emperor irritated at this, forthwith deprived the Pope of his temporal power, and was excommunicated. The excitement of the Roman populace placed the French troops in Rome in a position of great peril. General Miollis, the governor of the city, considered that the removal of the Pope was necessary, and Pius VII., after having been violently torn from the Pontifical palace, was first removed to Savona and then to Fontainebleau. There he remained in durance for four years, while the ancient capital of the world was transformed into the chief town of a French department.

The Spanish insurrection had become much more general immediately after the emperor's departure. The populace arose in every direction and the desire for national independence was a bond which united all parties against France. It was in vain that Napoleon's generals obtained numerous victories; that Sebastiani triumphed at Ciudad-Real, Victor at Madelin, and Soult at Oporto; for the example of Palafox, the defender of Saragossa, and the heroism of its inhabitants, who allowed themselves to be buried under its ruins rather than submit, excited the enthusiasm and patriotism of the Spaniards, while the English successfully seconded their efforts. On July 28 the French under Victor and Sebastiani were repulsed at Talavera by Sir Arthur Wellesley and compelled to retreat after an obstinate contest, which lasted two days. But Sebastiani was victorious over the Spaniards on August 21 at Almonacid, and Mortier at Ocana on November 19, and Andalusia fell into the power of the French. Spain, however, was not yet conquered, and in 1810 was commenced a fresh campaign as murderous as the preceding. Marshal Suchet invested the fortresses of Aragon, and held that province in check while Marshal Soult took in succession Granada, Seville, and Malaga, and compelled the provisional junta of Seville to retire to Cadiz, which French troops besieged. A third army, under the

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orders of Massena, had to struggle against the Anglo-Portuguese army of Wellington, which was very superior in numbers, but which nevertheless retreated before it towards Lisbon. Massena sustained defeat at the bloody battle of Busaco, and was stopped by Wellington before the lines of Torres Vedras, which protected the capital, and received, on October 10, the whole British army.

While the Peninsula devoured the best troops of the French army, Napoleon attained the highest point of his prodigious destiny. Equally influenced by his desire to have an heir, and by his ambition to be allied with the old dynasties of Europe, he repudiated Josephine de Beauharnais, his first wife, and married, on March 30, 1810, Maria Louisa, Archduchess of Austria, the daughter of the Emperor Francis.

In the course of this year Holland was annexed to France, while one of his generals, Bernadotte, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, was elected by the Estates-General of Sweden as successor to Charles XIII., who was childless. The annexation of Holland, which deprived his brother Louis of his crown, was followed by an act still more unjustifiable, for Napoleon, on December 13, 1810, without any preliminary announcement, annexed to his empire, by a *senatus consultum,* the Valais, the Hanseatic towns, and the coasts of the Baltic from the Ems to the Elbe. Among the princes who had been deprived of their possessions was the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, the uncle of the Emperor of Russia, and Alexander regarded this decree, which forcibly dispossessed a member of his family, as a personal insult to himself. He now listened to those about him who were most eager that he should break with France, and on December 31 replied to the *senatus consultum* by a commercial ukase which closed Russia against a large number of French products, and opened its ports to the products of the English colonies when conveyed in neutral bottoms. Fresh levies of troops were ordered throughout his dominions, his armies marched upon the Niemen, and Europe awaited fresh and sinister events.

In the Peninsula Suchet retained the upper hand in Aragon and Catalonia; but in Estremadura, Andalusia, and Portugal the armies of Soult and Massena endured great hardships and struggled against immense difficulties. Soult had captured Badajoz, and from thence had marched to Cadiz, to hasten the reduction of that important place, but the English speedily besieged Bada-

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1811

joz in their turn and compelled Soult to return to Estremadura. Massena, having failed to force the formidable lines of Torres Vedras, had found himself compelled to return to Spain, and had retreated to Salamanca, closely pursued by Wellington. At the end of April, 1811, having received reinforcements, he made an effort to relieve Almada, which the English were besieging. On his way thither he encountered the enemy on May 3, 1811, at the village of Fuentes d'Onoro, halfway between Almada and Ciudad-Rodrigo. There Massena engaged Wellington. A terrible battle took place, but after sustaining the contest for three days, Massena was compelled to fall back and retreat upon Salamanca. Napoleon reproached him for not having been victorious and replaced him in his command by Marshal Marmont.

The empire was in a state of decline, but fate still granted to the emperor a great and much longed for favor. He had a son born to him in March, 1811, who was proclaimed King of Rome in the cradle. Napoleon now desired to terminate his protracted differences with the court of Rome, and assembled a general council in Paris for the purpose of regulating, with the assistance of that assembly, the ecclesiastical affairs of the empire. The sovereign Pontiff, up to this time, had persisted in refusing to institute the French bishops appointed by the emperor, the number of which had been raised to twenty-seven. Napoleon desired that the Pope should accept at the expense of France a sumptuous but dependent establishment at Rome, at Paris, or at Avignon, and should thus renounce his temporal power. He demanded, moreover, on the ground of the necessities of the several dioceses, that the bishops should be canonically instituted and sought some legal method of providing for their institution, should the Pope refuse to bestow it. The emperor's first proposition was rejected by Pius VII., but he was more yielding on the second point, and at the request of the members of the council, whom Napoleon forced to work his will in a most arbitrary manner, he promised to institute the twenty-seven bishops, and the council was then dissolved.

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Chapter XXI

FALL OF THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE. 1811-1814

WHILE insisting with offensive haughtiness that Alexander should withdraw the ukase of December 31, Napoleon chose to ignore the much more serious wrong which he had done to the czar by annexing the grand duchy of Oldenburg to his empire without according any indemnity to the duke. The attempt to enforce the continental blockade again seemed to render necessary a control of the states of Europe, and to effect this object Napoleon drew down innumerable calamities upon France and upon himself. Even now the tyranny of the imperial rule was severely felt in France and the countries that had been annexed to the empire, and the peoples whom he held in restraint and subjection were beginning to protest, by word and deed, against the despotism that enchained them. In France, worn by lack of food, and deprived by the constant conscriptions of those who should have been adding to her prosperity and means of support by engaging in agriculture, commerce and the peaceful arts, complaints were heard daily, and revolts, which were promptly stifled at their outbreak, were of frequent occurrence. The bitter evils of the imperial system, intolerable in France, were felt even more heavily in the unhappy countries which Napoleon had conquered, which were crushed by taxes and devastated by the continual passage of armies. The French name became odious to the peoples who submitted in despair to the rule of France or its oppressive ascendency. It was on these peoples, however, and their sovereigns, that Napoleon thought he could rely in his enterprise against Russia, and it was in this belief that he had imposed his alliance upon Austria and Prussia, with whom he had concluded fresh treaties. He then assembled his army behind the Vistula, and, on the invitation of the King of Saxony, he set out from Paris in May, 1812, and established himself with his court at Dresden, under pretext of assembling the other sovereigns at a congress which was attended

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1812

by the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and many of the sovereigns of Europe, but in reality with the purpose of drawing near to his army and being in a position to surprise the enemy by a sudden attack at the commencement of the campaign.

Napoleon resolved not to commence the campaign until the month of June, 1812, and in the meantime, while he was constantly attempting to deceive Alexander by assurances of his amicable feelings towards him, he assembled behind the Vistula an immense army of four hundred and twenty-three thousand men, a thousand pieces of artillery, six pontoon equipages and a month's provisions. This army was supported by two hundred thousand reserve troops, who were distributed between the Elbe and the Vistula. This formidable mobilization of troops had already justly aroused the alarm of the Emperor Alexander, and now, foreseeing the danger which threatened him, he formed with England, Spain, and Portugal a new coalition, into which he succeeded in drawing Sweden, by allowing Charles XIII. to take possession of Norway, which had long been a dependency of Denmark. Napoleon now no longer concealed his hostile designs and on June 25 he commenced the campaign, alleging as a reason for his aggression, a recent and formal demand which he had received from Alexander to remove the French troops from western Prussia. He crossed the Niemen with the larger portion of his forces, and on the 28th he entered Wilna, where he received a final letter from Alexander suggesting peace, and promising to continue his alliance with France if Napoleon would evacuate the Russian territory. But to have retreated a step would have been a humiliation in the eyes of Napoleon. He sent a reply in the negative and halted seventeen days at Wilna—a delay which was fatal. The emperor then continued his march, and arrived at Witepsk after a series of conflicts. The enemy's army retired before him. The Dnieper was speedily crossed, and a bloody battle took place at Krasnoë, before Smolensk, which was carried after a murderous conflict, and delivered to the flames. The Russians still fell back, and Napoleon followed them in the direction of Moscow. The Russians declined any decisive battle and, retreating after each defeat, led the French troops, who pursued them, into the heart of old Russia.

The army arrived at length, on September 5, on the plains of Borodino, some leagues distant from Moscow, near the banks

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of the Moskwa, and found itself face to face with the whole Russian army, which was under the command of the old general Kutusoff. A general engagement took place on September 7, in which the Russians were defeated and compelled to retire, after a desperate conflict. The Russians retreated to Moscow, and their army only entered that ancient capital immediately to evacuate it. After a time the French entered the silent streets of this vast city, and were astonished to find them utterly deserted. The mass of the inhabitants had left it in a body. Napoleon entered the citadel of the Kremlin unresisted. He resolved to establish his winter quarters there and enjoy the fruits of his victory. But during the night a frightful conflagration burst forth. Rostopchin, the governor of the city, had determined, when he evacuated it, to make a great sacrifice for the purpose of saving his country. Russia must be lost if the French could find a refuge in Moscow, and at a given signal, therefore, convicts were sent throughout the city, torch in hand, to fire it in a thousand places. Moscow crumbled beneath the flames, and a large part was speedily nothing but a heap of ashes. The winter approached, and the French had no asylum against its rigors. Napoleon had hoped for peace, but as Alexander took no notice of his offers to negotiate, he ordered a retreat, leaving the city at the head of a hundred thousand troops. The Russians intercepted him on the road to Kaluga, and Kutusoff, five days after the evacuation of Moscow, on October 25, fought a bloody but indecisive battle with the French at Malojaroslawetz, after which Napoleon, yielding to the advice of his generals, directed the retreat towards Smolensk.

The army continued its march in tolerably good order as far as the Beresina, which it had to cross in the face of Kutusoff, Wittgenstein, and Tchitchagoff, and their three armies, which occupied and barred all the fords. To cross the river it was necessary to build bridges under the enemy's fire and to fight incessantly. The Russian batteries kept up a constant fire as the troops passed slowly across the bridges, which broke down at last under the weight that was thrown upon them, and plunged thousands of men into the Beresina. At length, after incredible efforts, the army crossed this formidable barrier, but the moral energy of the greater number of the French troops was destroyed, and the retreat became one vast and fearful rout. At last the

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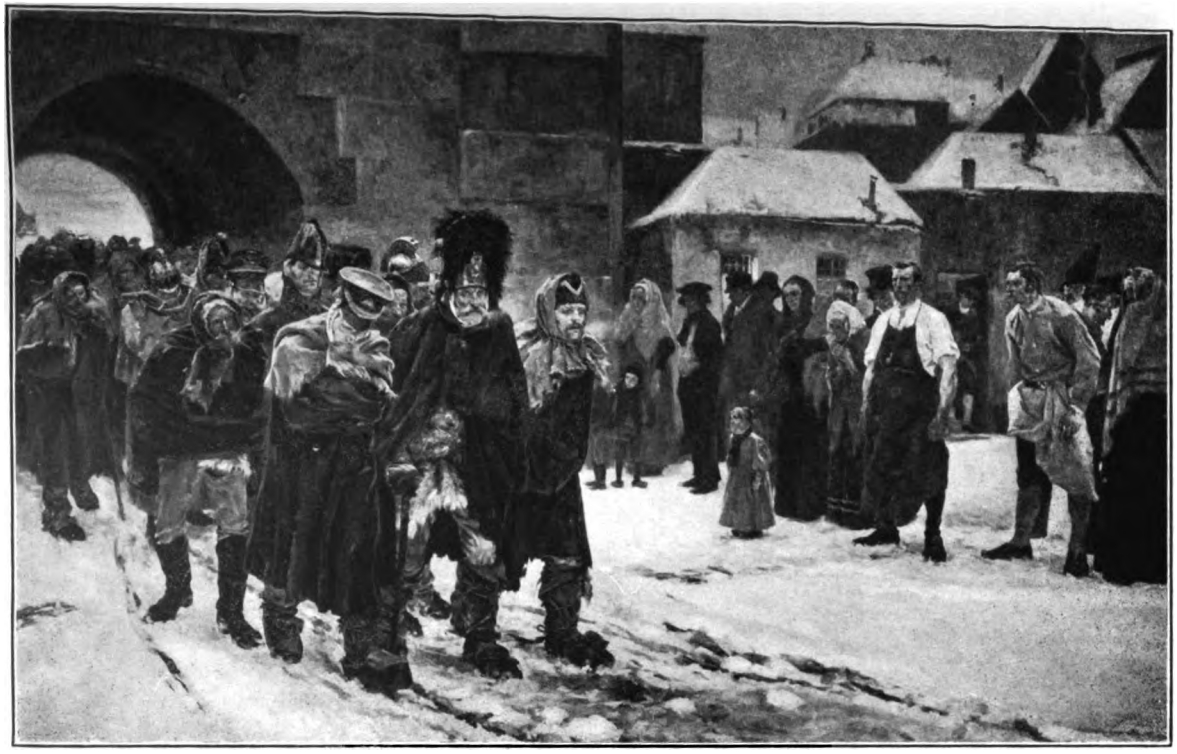

THE RETURN OF THE GRAND ARMY FROM RUSSIA

Painting by Arthur Kampp

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emperor, learning of the critical situation in Paris and wishing to arrive in the capital before the news of his disasters, quitted his army on December 8, after giving the chief command to Murat.

The reverses suffered by the French army were followed by desertions. The Prussians withdrew at Tilsit, and the Austrians followed their example, while Murat, the commander-in-chief, abandoned his post and deserted. Eugene took the command and reëstablished order. France made a supreme effort and gave a new army to Napoleon. Austria renewed its protestations of fidelity, while Prussia negotiated with Russia at Kalisch. England promising to secure Norway to Sweden, obtained the active coöperation of Bernadotte against France. Napoleon, now threatened in every direction, rejoined at Lützen, on April 30, 1813, Eugene and the remains of the grand army, and gained with conscripts, against the veteran troops of Europe, the costly victories of Lützen and Bautzen. He then renewed his negotiations for peace, and it was arranged that a congress should meet at Prague on June 4. Napoleon, however, hesitated to accept the terms on which Austria promised her support, and the congress was suddenly dissolved without any result, and Austria declared war against France. Napoleon fought the enemy under the walls of Dresden, and was victorious, but Vandamme sustained a terrible check at Kulm, where he was made prisoner and lost ten thousand men. The allied armies grew larger day by day, and many conflicts took place between unequal forces. Oudinot was vanquished at Grosbeeren, Ney at Dennewitz, Macdonald at Katzbach. The King of Bavaria declared war against Napoleon, and the French troops, surrounded on all sides, retreated to Leipsic, where a most sanguinary battle took place, which lasted three days (October 16-19, 1813), and in which Napoleon was defeated. He retreated upon the Rhine, closely pressed by the allied armies. A corps of sixty thousand Austrians and Bavarians, under General Wrede, endeavored near Hanau to intercept the French retreat, but unsuccessfully, as Napoleon dispersed the enemy, and encamped his army on the Rhine, while the allies took up a position opposite to him, and selected Frankfort as their headquarters.

Meanwhile, the French were being driven out of Spain. Two great battles had been lost, Salamanca by Marmont, in 1812,

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and Vittoria by King Joseph, in 1813, and Wellington was enabled to march to the western Pyrenees, where Soult, after having struggled in the Peninsula with very unequal forces, was not in a position to oppose him successfully. In this extremity Napoleon did not hesitate to sacrifice his brother's crown, and in the faint hope of arresting the progress of the Anglo-Spanish army at the Pyrenees he engaged, by a treaty signed at Valençay, where he still kept King Ferdinand captive, to acknowledge him as King of Spain and to open the doors of his prison as soon as the treaty should be accepted by the regency at Cadiz and the Cortes. Prince Eugene, faithful to France, still struggled at this period in Italy, and heroically defended the course of the Adige, but the weak Murat, to save his crown, now declared against Napoleon.

The old generals and supporters of the empire—including even Ney, Marmont and Macdonald—now openly spoke of peace as indispensable, and pressed the emperor to conclude it, and the ministers of England, Russia, and Austria—Lord Aberdeen, Nesselrode and Metternich—assembled at Frankfort, proposed in concert to Napoleon, on November 13, the immediate convocation at Mannheim of a congress, for the purpose of negotiating peace on the basis of the reëstablishment of the kingdom of France within its ancient limits—the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Rhine—as they had been guaranteed in 1801 by the Peace of Luneville. Napoleon at first gave an ambiguous reply to the propositions of the foreign ministers. After three weeks' delay, when he sent in his assent to the proposal made at Frankfort, it was too late. Holland had risen in insurrection, and chosen the head of the House of Orange for its king; Murat had separated his fortunes from those of Napoleon, and England, perceiving how readily Holland had freed herself, conceived the hope of depriving Napoleon of Antwerp and Belgium.

Immense resources were now required for the defense of France, which was exhausted both in men and money, and Napoleon, having assembled the senate and legislative corps on December 19, 1813, explained to them the necessities and perils of the country, and desired their assistance. The reply of the senate was moderate and submissive, but the legislative corps voted, in answer to the speech from the throne, an address in which it demanded, in respectful but nevertheless firm and distinct terms,

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the abandonment of conquests and the restoration of a legal form of government.

This opposition was denominated treason by the emperor, and provoked his wrath. By his orders all the copies of the address were seized; he prorogued the legislative assembly, and on the following day, January 1, 1814, received a deputation from that body with a storm of reproaches. From this time parties hostile to the emperor were formed throughout the empire, and Europe understood from this imprudent outbreak on the part of Napoleon that France no longer supported him as one man. The whole virile population of the state was summoned to arms; thirty thousand national guards of Paris were mobilized and incorporated with the active army, and the last resources of the nation were called into requisition. Napoleon declared Maria Louisa regent, confided his wife and child, whom he was destined to see no more, to the national guard, and took the field, after having given the command of the capital to his brother Joseph.

The English and Spaniards advanced on the south, and were already at the Pyrenees; sixty thousand men under Schwartzenberg marched upon France by Switzerland and inundated the Franche-Comté; sixty thousand Russians and Prussians under Blücher penetrated into Lorraine and Alsace, and a hundred thousand Swiss and Germans invaded Belgium under Bernadotte. Napoleon confided to General Maison the defense of the frontier of the north, and that of Lyons to Augereau, and, while Soult and Suchet still faced the enemy at the Pyrenees, he ordered Marshals Ney, Victor, Marmont, Macdonald, and Mortier to fall back with the feeble remnants of their various corps to the environs of Châlons, where he himself arrived on January 25. His first step was to march rapidly from Châlons to Saint Dizier; thence he proceeded to meet Blücher, and encountered him under the walls of Brienne, where he gave him battle and gained a victory. Blücher was dislodged from Brienne with great loss and driven back upon La Rothière, whence he retreated as far as Tranne. Informed of Blücher's defeat, Schwartzenberg hastened to effect a junction with him opposite the plateau of La Rothière, where the emperor had halted. At this spot there took place on February 1, 1814, a desperate conflict, which lasted eight hours and ended without any decided result, the enemy being unable to carry the positions of the French, but retaining their own. It was neces-

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sary to fall back before the formidable masses of the allies, and during the night Napoleon effected in good order a retreat upon Troyes. From all sides now came news of fresh disasters. Murat declared openly against Napoleon, and was marching to crush Prince Eugene; the Spanish regency of Cadiz refused to recognize the Treaty of Valençay, as Ferdinand would remain in captivity, and the Anglo-Spanish arms retained a large portion of the French troops on the Adour and Pyrenees. Schwartzenberg and Blücher continued their march, and hostile forces already made their appearance at a few leagues' distance only from the capital. Nothing, however, could crush Napoleon. He directed his brother Joseph to fortify Paris and defend it to the last extremity; ordered Suchet to withdraw the French troops from Catalonia, and to send them to him without delay; recalled Eugene, ordering him to evacuate Italy and to unite his forces with those which Augereau had assembled at Lyons; had the Pope conducted back to Italy, and set at liberty Ferdinand VII., after having obtained his promise that he would execute the Treaty of Valençay; sent Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, to represent France and to negotiate peace at the Congress of Chatillon, which had assembled on the demand of England and Austria.

Blücher was now marching upon Paris by the valley of the Marne, while Schwartzenberg followed the course of the Seine. Leaving a portion of his forces in the environs of Nogent and Montereau, under Victor, Oudinot, and Gérard, to watch and hold in check Schwartzenberg, Napoleon threw himself with the rest, upon the army under Blücher. Four days sufficed Napoleon to overtake and vanquish the four corps of Blücher's army one after the other. On February 10 he engaged and destroyed the Russian corps of Olssouvieff at Champ-Aubert; on the following day he fought and defeated General Sacken, at Montmirail; on February 13, 1814, he defeated General Yorck and Prince William of Prussia at Château Thierry, and on the 14th encountered Blücher at Vauchamps, vanquished him, and drove him beyond Etoges, six leagues from Châlons. Napoleon thus victorious, resolved to advance without delay against Schwartzenberg, and arrived on February 15 at Guignes. On the 17th he assumed the offensive, attacked the enemy, and put him to flight with considerable loss at the battles of Mormont, Nangis, and Villeneuve, and again on the 18th at Montereau. Schwartzenberg, completely

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beaten, ordered a retreat upon Troyes, which he only passed through, and which Napoleon reëntered as a victor on February 24.

The representatives of the powers at the Congress of Chatillon had by this time drawn up definite conditions of peace, which provided that France should reënter the boundaries within which she had been confined in 1792, and take no part in the arrangement of the other states in Europe. This was to deprive her of the Rhine and Alps boundary lines, which had been left her by the Frankfort propositions, and of her rank as a European power. Napoleon rejected these offensive propositions with anger and contempt. He was determined to have the Rhine boundary, which had been offered at Frankfort, and demanded that which his enemies had already resolved not to grant him. The allied powers now signed at Chaumont a new treaty of alliance, by which each of them engaged to furnish a contingent of a hundred and fifty thousand men until the conclusion of the war, and England further offered an annual subsidy of six millions sterling, to be divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The powers mutually agreed, moreover, that they would severally keep up during twenty years after the signature of peace an army of sixty thousand men to be at the disposal of whichever of them France should attack. This treaty, so fatal to France, served as the basis of the famous treaty subsequently known by the name of the Holy Alliance. With reference to the proposals made at the Congress of Chatillon, a term was fixed after which, it was declared, the negotiations with Napoleon would be broken off and never renewed. Blücher, who in the interval had almost repaired his disasters, had been reinforced by fifty thousand men from Bernadotte's army and had taken up a strong position behind the Aisne on the plateau of Craonne, between Soissons and Laon. From this, however, he was forced by an impetuous attack of Napoleon and compelled to withdraw to Laon, where, after two days' desperate fighting, he managed to retain his position. Unable to defeat Blücher, to whose assistance Schwartzenberg was rapidly approaching, Napoleon ordered a retreat, but, with a desperate hope of checking the junction of the allied troops by a victory over Schwartzenberg on his way, he suddenly marched to Arcis-sur-Aube, where he gave that general battle. Victorious so far only as the maintenance of positions make a victory, the emperor, finding himself unable to do more than slightly check

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Schwartzenberg's march, retired to St. Dizier, hoping to draw the allies after him and away from Paris, or in event of their marching on Paris to gain time to collect more troops and returning to the capital to crush them there. Napoleon had now allowed the fatal period to expire without replying to the proposals of the Congress of Chatillon and the congress was dissolved. The allied sovereigns announced that they were not at war with France, but only with Napoleon, and it was to Paris that they resolved to march without delay for the purpose of dethroning the emperor.

France was equally invaded on the south, the Anglo-Spanish army, under Wellington, having already crossed the Pyrenees. Soult gave them battle at Orthez, and being defeated, was compelled to order a retreat and fall back upon Toulouse, leaving Bordeaux uncovered, which opened its gates to the English, and on March 12 declared for the Bourbons.

Marmont and Mortier, who had occupied a strongly entrenched position behind the Ourcy canal, had fallen back upon Paris, after having sustained a defeat at Père Champenoise. No obstacle now hindered the march of the allies, and on March 29 their columns took up positions around the capital.

Consternation reigned in the immense city, for whose protection and defense no preparations had been made. The government itself was in a state of profound stupor. The Empress Maria Louisa in obedience to orders left by the emperor in case such an emergency should happen, set out for Blois, carrying with her the King of Rome, but her flight completely paralyzed the defense. Paris was already invested on every side, and on March 30 the attack commenced on the one side, in front of La Villette, La Chapelle, and Montmartre, and on the other, between Vincennes, Charonne, and the heights of Belleville. The battle lasted till the evening, when at length, to stop the effusion of blood and to spare the capital the horrors of capture by assault, the marshals capitulated, having obtained a free retreat for their troops, and quitted Paris during the night, while King Joseph and all the ministers of the imperial government hastened to Blois. Napoleon, who was hastening towards Paris, heard of the capitulation and the events which had preceded it, at Fromenteau, near Essone, but hoping yet to retrieve the disasters which had happened, he proceeded to Fontainebleau, which he made his headquarters.

Paris now received within its walls the allied sovereigns, at the

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head of their armies. The Emperor of Russia entered the capital on March 31, together with the King of Prussia, and was received with demonstrations in favor of the Bourbons. His first act was to publish, in the name of the allied sovereigns, a celebrated declaration that they would never negotiate with Napoleon Bonaparte or with any member of his family, that those sovereigns would recognize and guarantee the constitution which France should choose for herself, and that the senate was invited to form a provisional government to provide for the government of the country and to prepare the new constitution.

The senate accordingly appointed a provisional government of five members, the Prince Talleyrand, the Duke of Dalberg, General Beurnonville, the Abbé de Montesquiou, and M. de Jancourt, who immediately formed a ministry. On the following day, April 2, 1814, the senate proceeded to declare Napoleon deprived of the throne, and released all French subjects from their oaths of fidelity to him and his family.

Napoleon, however, still had powerful resources at his command. The army under Augereau at Lyons, the armies of Soult and Suchet in the south, that of Eugene in Italy, and seventy thousand men, under his own direct command at Fontainebleau, and he determined to make a supreme effort to recover Paris. But although the troops were willing to follow him, his marshals, when summoned to a council of war by the emperor, before setting out for Paris, did not hesitate to declare to him that if he persisted in his desperate enterprise he must not reckon upon their assistance. Finding himself on the point of being abandoned by the illustrious companions with whom he had so often been victorious, his resolution gave way. He offered to abdicate in favor of his son, who would reign under the regency of his mother, and sent Caulaincourt, Ney, Macdonald, and Marmont to Paris, to negotiate on this new basis.

Alexander, however, told Caulaincourt and the marshals that Napoleon must make an unconditional abdication, and that, in return, he should be treated with all due consideration. The negotiators were consequently sent back to Fontainebleau to demand and obtain such an abdication. The emperor, looking steadily at the state of affairs, saw clearly that there was little hope of saving his crown, or of recovering for France her frontiers. He resigned himself to his fate, therefore, and signed his abdication. Then,

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summoning around him his marshals, who had been impatient to obtain it, he addressed to them a few sad and serious words, and read to them his deed of abdication, which he then handed to Caulaincourt to exchange in Paris for one in which should be set forth the fate reserved for himself and his family.

The senate had already voted for France a constitution by which it voluntarily recalled to the throne, under the title of the King of the French, Louis Stanislas Xavier, the brother of Louis XVI., and conferred upon him the hereditary royalty. This constitution established on the throne an inviolable king, the sole depository of the executive power, which he was to exercise by means of responsible ministers, and provided that he should share the legislative power with two chambers; an hereditary one, consisting for the most part of the members of the senate, and an elective one. It also provided for an irremovable magistracy, liberty of worship, individual liberty, and the liberty of the press. Immediately after the publication of the senatorial constitution, as it was called, the provisional government drew up, at the request of Alexander, a treaty which assigned the island of Elba to Napoleon in full sovereignty, gave Parma and Piacenza to the empress and the King of Rome, promised a principality to Eugene, and finally bestowed incomes on Napoleon and his family. This treaty, which was signed on April 11 by the ministers of the allied sovereigns, and by Talleyrand in the name of the royal government, was immediately exchanged for the emperor's deed of abdication; and on the following day the Count of Artois, the brother of Louis XVIII., entered Paris, when the white flag was substituted for the tricolor. The prince received a cordial welcome from the national guard, and groups of royalists greeted him with enthusiastic shouts. On April 10 a battle took place under the walls of Toulouse, between Soult and Wellington, when the former, after an obstinate contest which was prolonged for twelve hours, was defeated and compelled to retire on Villafranca.

The treaty of April 11 was presented to Napoleon for signature on the evening of that day, but he hesitated and endeavored to escape the humiliating necessity of signing his own dethronement and that of his descendants by taking poison which he had carried on his person ever since his reverse at Moscow.[1] The poison, how-

[1] Historians are divided as to whether Napoleon attempted to commit suicide. The evidence does not justify the positive statement contained in the text.

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ever, did not have the effect that he expected, and on recovering from a deep lethargy which followed his attempt to commit suicide, he placed, without further resistance, his signature to the treaty, and some days later, on April 20, at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the foreign commissioner charged with the care of his person, took leave of his brave army. He then threw himself into his carriage, and set out for the island of Elba, which was bestowed upon him in full sovereignty, and whither he was preceded by a battalion of his guard. He arrived at his destination on May 4 after a painful journey through the departments of the South, through the midst of populations whom long and cruel wars had exasperated, and who did not spare the illustrious exile the insults he had too truly anticipated.

French historians differ on the question of the greatness of Napoleon, but the estimate of the English statesman, Lord Rosebery,[1] may be taken as an impartial criticism. "Into a career of a score of years," he says, "Napoleon crowded his own dazzling career, his conquests, his triumphant assault on the Old World. In that brief space we see the lean, hungry conqueror swell into the sovereign, and then into the sovereign of sovereigns. Then comes the catastrophe. He loses the balance of his judgment and becomes a curse to his own country, and to all others. He has ceased to be sane. The intellect and energy are still there, but, as it were, in caricature; they have become monstrosities. Body and mind are affected by the prolonged strain to be more than mortal. Then there is the inevitable collapse.

"There is one question which people ask about great men, which one cannot put with regard to Napoleon, without a sense of incongruity which approaches the grotesque. Was Napoleon a good man? The irresistible smile with which we greet the question proves, we think, not the proved iniquity, but the exceptional position of this unique personality. Ordinary measures and tests do not appear to apply to him. We seem to be trying to span a mountain with a tape. But that he was great in the sense of being extraordinary and supreme we can have no doubt. If greatness stands for natural power, for predominance, for something human beyond humanity, then Napoleon was assuredly great. Besides that indefinable spark which we call genius, he represents a combination of intellect and energy which has never perhaps been

[1] Lord Rosebery, "Napoleon: The Last Phase."

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equaled, never, certainly, surpassed. He carried human faculty to the farthest point of which we have accurate knowledge. Napoleon lived under the modern microscope. Under the fiercest glare of scrutiny he enlarged indefinitely the limits of human conception and human possibility. Till he had lived no one could realize that there could be so stupendous a combination of military and civil genius, such comprehension of view united to such grasp of detail, such prodigious vitality of body and mind. 'He contracts history,' said Madame d'Houdetot, 'and expands imagination.' 'He has thrown a doubt,' said Lord Dudley, 'on all past glory; he has made all future renown impossible.' This is hyperbole, but with a substance of truth. No name represents so completely and conspicuously dominion, splendor, and catastrophe. He raised himself by the use, and ruined himself by the abuse, of superhuman faculties."

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PART VI

A CENTURY OF REVOLUTION. 1814-1906

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Chapter XXII

THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS. 1814-1820

THE head of the royal house, Louis Stanislas Xaxier, whom the senate called upon to reign under the name of Louis XVIII., had acquired in his youth, as Count of Provence, a certain popularity by voting, in the second assembly of the notables, for the double representation of the Third Estate. He had, moreover, while in exile in England, resisted the republic and protested against Napoleon by claiming his rights to the crown. The Count of Artois had preceded the king, his brother, and had entered Paris on April 12 with the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The prince invited the provisional government to form his council, to which were added Marshals Oudinot and Moncey, and General Dessoles. This council, which was named the upper royal council, set to work as soon as it was constituted, and the government of the Bourbons commenced. The first care of the prince and his councilors was to afford some immediate relief to the provinces devastated by war, and still occupied by the enemy. With this praiseworthy object, it signed a burdensome convention, by which France undertook to surrender to the allied powers, within the briefest possible space of time, all the places which her troops still occupied on their several territories, with most of the material of war which they contained, in return for the immediate release of the soil of France from foreign troops. This convention was signed on April 23. On the following day Louis XVIII. arrived at Calais, which he entered amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the populace, and from which he set out for Paris.

Jealous of his hereditary privileges, the king would not acknowledge that the senate had a right to impose a constitution upon him. But nevertheless, yielding to the earnest representations of the Emperor Alexander and the advice of Talleyrand, he preceded his entry into his capital by a celebrated declaration, dated at Saint-Ouen, by which he guaranteed to France the liberties promised by the senatorial constitution. On the following day, May 3, the

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king, the Duchesse of Angoulême, and most of the princes of the family of the Bourbons entered Paris in solemn procession and received everywhere a warm reception, for the declaration of Saint-Ouen began a new era for France. Reliance was placed on the royal promises and the hearts of the people were open to hope. The king confirmed in its attributes the consultative superior council established by his brother under the name of the royal council, and in subordination to which another council, that of the ministers, exercised the executive power. It was, however, soon perceived with anxiety that among the ministers were some who were opposed to the liberal spirit, and who had been selected by the monarch on account of personal liking or of services rendered before the revolution, such as Dambray, who had been made chancellor of France and keeper of the seals, the Abbé Montesquiou, minister of the interior, and the Count of Blacas, minister of the king's household. General Dupont was minister of war, Talleyrand, for foreign affairs, Malouet, for the naval department, Baron Louis, of finance, and Beugnot, of police.

Active negotiations for the establishment of peace were immediately commenced, and it was concluded on May 30, 1814, by a treaty signed at Paris, by which France was restricted, with a few trifling increases in territory, to the limits within which she had been confined in 1792. She had to surrender three of her colonies—Santa-Lucia, Tobago and the Isle of France, and finally it was agreed that the vessels constructed by order of her government in foreign parts should be divided between herself and the allied powers. Shortly after the signature of the Treaty of Paris the French soil was freed from the presence of foreign troops. On June 4 the king convoked the senate and the legislative body, and on the same day. in their presence solemnly bestowed upon the French a constitutional charter, which established a representative government composed of a king and two chambers, one of which was made up of peers nominated for life by the monarch, while the other consisted of the deputies of departments. It abolished confiscation and the odious conscription law, secured individual liberty, the freedom of the press and of public worship, the inviolability of property, the irrevocability of the sales of the national property, the responsibility of the ministers, the annual voting of taxes, and the payment of the interest on the national debt, and reëstablished the old nobility in their rights while it maintained those of the new.

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Immediately after the charter had been read the chancellor produced the decree which established the chamber of peers, which was composed of most of the old senators, of the marshals, and a great number of dignitaries of the old court and noblesse. The promulgation of this charter was accompanied by one serious fault. The king had refused to accept it as a condition of his elevation to the throne, and had granted it simply as an act of his sovereign will, and had dated it the nineteenth year of his reign. This was to ignore all that had taken place in France during twenty-five years, and to expose the charter to peril by placing it at the mercy of the supreme power. The dangerous nature of the ground on which the monarch rested his power soon become manifest. A number of persons who had been dissatisfied with the return of the Bourbons received the new order of things with distrust, and the press, implacable and violent, spread abroad alarms and threats. The journals were subjected to a censorship, but while the partisans of the revolution were compelled to be careful how they wrote, the royalist papers were permitted full license of language, and many intemperate articles, which were not suppressed, were attributed to the instigation of the government. Louis XVIII. also committed the fault of reëstablishing, at a great expense, the old military appendages to the royal household—the companies of household troops and the musqueteers, which were composed of young noblemen, who were all recognized as officers at the commencement of their career, in the presence of an army in which during twenty years military rank had only been obtained at the price of blood and glorious services.

Many decrees were issued which were offensive either to the army or to the people. The clerical party ordered the police to prevent any commercial transactions or labor on Sundays and fête days, a measure rendered untimely and unpopular by the manner in which it was carried into effect. The suppression of the concordat was negotiated at Rome, and there seemed reason to fear that the clergy would be reinstated in their old privileges. Many priests thundered against the present proprietors of the national property, and, finally, many bishops openly expressed their adherence to the bull of Pope Pius VII., which reëstablished the order of the Jesuits. The army, stationed in obscure garrisons, found itself deprived by General Dupont of a multitude of officers who had grown old in its ranks, and who were succeeded by men whose only title to command was their birth or services in foreign ranks. Irritation and anxiety

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filled the breasts of all whose interests allied them virtually with the revolution, and they formed two powerful parties: the imperialist party, which was supported by almost the whole of the army, and the revolutionary or republican party, which obtained the sympathy of most of those who were now in possession of the national property. Opposed to these parties was a third called the ultra-royalist party, and composed of most of the old nobility and the clergy, which was led by Monsieur, the king's brother, and which never ceased to urge Louis XVIII. to unpopular acts, which were as contrary to the spirit of the charter as to the monarch's personal inclinations. Finally, a fourth party, named the constitutional party, consisted of all those whose wishes and necessities were satisfied by the charter, such as Lafayette, Royer-Collard, Lanjuinais, Carnot, Benjamin Constant, Madame de Staël, the Duke of Broglie, Boissy d'Anglas, and others. This party, which was supported by the national guard of Paris, was powerful among the citizens of the chief cities and had the majority in the two chambers. The chambers assembled on June 4, Chancellor Dambray being the president of the chamber of peers, and M. Lainé that of the chamber of deputies. The financial measures of Baron Louis were immediately adopted, but their execution was accompanied by much suffering, for it was necessary, for economy's sake, to suppress a multitude of offices, and to reduce to half-pay a number of good officers, who overflowed Paris and moved its inhabitants by their complaints and their wretchedness, while extreme irritation was caused by the continuation of all, even the most vexatious taxes, the suppression of which had been either promised or hoped. The censorship of books and journals was one of the most serious questions discussed in the chamber. It was temporarily maintained. The attempt to restore to the emigrants a portion of the property confiscated by the state, but not yet sold, raised a violent storm, not so much on account of itself as on account of what it seemed to foreshadow. The chamber did not pass this measure until it had undergone considerable modifications, but the ill-judged expressions of M. Ferrand, the minister who had introduced it, were regarded as the expressions of opinions of the king and his government and, spreading rapidly through France, gave a fresh and unfortunate activity to the dangerous hopes of some and the sullen rage of others. The public excitement was great, and was increased by many alarms. There was no end of rumors of conspiracies, and a plot for the restoration of the empire

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was actually formed by some imprudent generals. The army was the most formidable focus of discontent, and instead of doing all in its power to attach it to itself, the government was constantly putting measures into execution which could not fail to alienate it. The minister of war, General Dupont, proposed to the chambers to suppress many branches of the Hôtel des Invalides, and some establishments for the education of the children of members of the Legion of Honor, while the government at the same time pensioned some of the Vendeans and Chouans. Public indignation was excited by these projects. The economical measures relative to the Invalides and the orphans of the Legion of Honor were rejected, General Dupont was obliged to resign, and was succeeded by Marshal Soult. Shortly afterwards the session of the chambers was closed and adjourned to May 15, 1815.

In October, 1814, a congress had been assembled at Vienna, for the purpose of reconstructing the map of Europe, and was still sitting at the opening of the new year. By this it was arranged that Prussia should have the electorate of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and a great portion of the territory between the Rhine and the Meuse. Russia acquired the grand duchy of Warsaw, under the name of the kingdom of Poland. Austria recovered Lombardy and all its old possessions on the two shores of the Adriatic. Tuscany was given to the Archduke Ferdinand, Genoa to the King of Sardinia, and Parma to the ex-Empress Maria Louisa, but only for her life. The foreign policy of all the states of Germany was rendered subject to the decisions of a federal diet, of which Austria was to have the perpetual presidency. Sweden obtained Norway, while England retained the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Malta and Heligoland, and exercised a protectorate over the Ionian Islands. Holland and Belgium were united into the kingdom of the Netherlands under the rule of the House of Orange. In Italy the Legations were secured to the Pope, while in Switzerland, which was declared neutral territory, the congress maintained the state of things which had been established by the Act of Mediation of 1803, and raised the total number of cantons to twenty-two. Talleyrand, who represented France, further insisted that Napoleon should be removed to a greater distance than Elba and that Murat should be dethroned. This led Murat to seek a reconciliation with Napoleon, whom he invited to Italy and to whom he promised powerful support. Such was in February, 1815, the general position of

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Europe, when an astounding event suddenly startled it throughout its length and breadth. This was nothing less than the escape of Napoleon from Elba and his disembarkation on March 1, in the Gulf of Juan, between Cannes and Antibes, with eleven hundred men, four pieces of cannon, and three generals, Bertrand, Drouot and Cambronne.

The news of his landing spread around Louis XVIII. terror and consternation. The king convoked the two chambers and the Count of Artois, with the Duke of Orleans, was ordered to advance with troops upon Lyons in concert with Marshal Macdonald. Ney accepted the command of the troops spread over Franche-Comté, and took an oath of fidelity to the king. The Duke of Feltre replaced Marshal Soult as minister of war, and a royal decree declared Napoleon Bonaparte a traitor and a rebel, and enjoined all Frenchmen to treat him as such.

In the meantime Napoleon was on his way to Paris. A first attempt made on the garrison of Antibes had failed, and for some days he advanced without encountering any troops either friendly or hostile. It was resolved by the authorities in the south, who appeared to be struck with stupor at Napoleon's landing, and incapable of acting with energy, that Grenoble should be defended, and all the disposable troops in Dauphiné were concentrated there. A detachment commanded by a resolute officer named Lessard was sent some leagues beyond Grenoble to destroy the bridge of Ponthaut, and having met on March 7, with the imperial advanced guard under Cambronne on the Mure, prepared to dispute his advance. However, on an impassioned appeal from Napoleon, the cry of "*Vive l'empereur!*" was raised by Lessard's men, and was a thousand times repeated. The two bodies of troops fraternized and marched together to Grenoble. Soon afterwards, in the neighborhood of Vizille, Colonel la Bédoyère hastened up with his regiment to join Bonaparte, whom the unfortunate young man almost worshiped. Grenoble and Lyons opened their gates in succession; the soldiers everywhere responded to the appeal of their old general; Ney's corps followed this example, and Ney himself was induced to do the same. Napoleon embraced him and continued his march towards Paris. As Napoleon was approaching, Louis XVIII. held a review in Paris, but the troops would not respond to the cry of "*Vive le roi!*" The monarch understood this silence, and, yielding to the force of necessity, he precipitately quitted his

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palace on the night of March 19. On the evening of March 20 Napoleon reëntered the capital, without having fired a single shot. He had made known his acceptance of the Treaty of Paris, and had protested his intention of keeping the peace, but his couriers were arrested on the frontiers, the allied sovereigns placed no reliance on his assurances, and by a fresh treaty, signed on March 25, renewed among themselves the alliance of Chaumont. The Congress of Vienna declared Napoleon to be out of the pale of public and social law, and from seven to nine hundred thousand men were preparing once more to pour down upon France. It was necessary, therefore, that Napoleon, if he were to reign, should receive from the hands of victory fresh and bloody consecration.

The first imperial decrees, dated at Lyons, were energetic. They declared the chambers of Louis XVIII. dissolved, convoked the electoral colleges in an extraordinary assembly for the purpose of modifying the constitution of the empire in the interests of the people, abolished the old nobility, and declared all the property of the Bourbons sequestrated. Napoleon admitted into his council the celebrated conventionist, Carnot, as minister of the interior, and appointed Fouché, Duke of Otranto, minister of police. Finally he requested the celebrated publicist, Benjamin Constant, to draw up an "Additional Act to the constitutions of the empire," which created, in the first place, two legislative chambers, those of the peers and the representatives, the first hereditary, nominated by the emperor, and the second elective, while the other clauses of this act were transcripts of the principal portions of the charter of Louis XVIII. Napoleon submitted it to the people for acceptance, and a million consented to it, while four thousand ventured to reject it. The emperor swore to keep inviolate this new constitution in a solemn assembly of the electoral colleges on the Champ de Mai, where the eagles were distributed among the regiments, and where Napoleon appeared with all the pomp of the empire. Military measures now occupied Napoleon's whole attention. The south seemed quiet; the Duke of Angoulême had made a rapid and perilous campaign on the Rhone, but soon, abandoned by his troops, he had found himself surrounded and made a prisoner, and having been set at liberty by the emperor's orders he had left France. The Vendée was in a state of insurrection, and, although kept in check by General Lamarque, it compelled Napoleon to detach twenty thousand men to occupy and reduce it. In the meantime the imprudent Murat had

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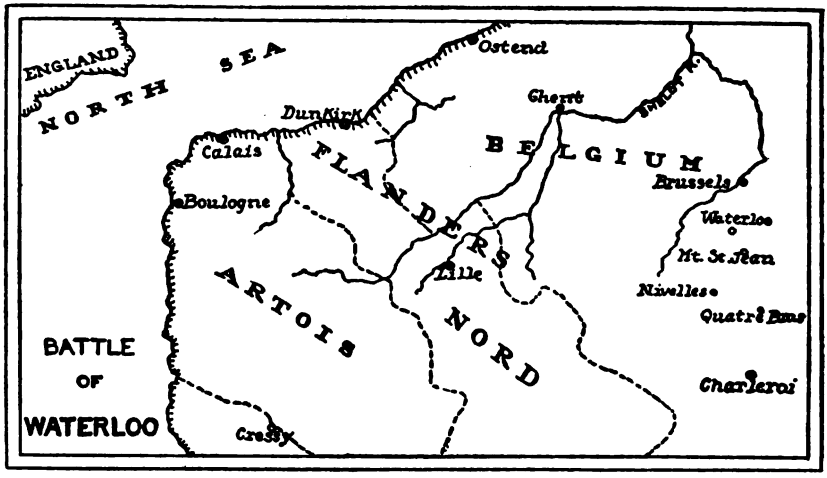
attacked the Austrians at Tolentino, lost his army and his crown, and now wandered about a fugitive, while his vanquishers replaced the Bourbons on the throne of the Two Sicilies. All Europe was now advancing with menacing front; the English under Wellington, and the Prussians under Blücher, occupied Belgium; the whole of Germany rose against Napoleon with enthusiasm, and behind it the Russian columns were already in motion.

Napoleon again collected within a few days an army of two hundred thousand men. Of this number a hundred and twenty-five or thirty thousand were marched upon Belgium. On June 12, 1815, he set out in person for his army, to give battle to Wellington



and Blücher, who were at the head of about ninety thousand men each. On the 16th he succeeded, by means of a rapid and secret march, in surprising the Prussians near the village of Ligny and defeating them after an obstinate and bloody battle. On the same day, at a few leagues' distance, another battle took place at the farm of Quatre-Bras, on the road from Charleroi to Brussels, between a portion of the English forces and the French troops under Ney, in which the English held their positions. Grouchy, having been detached and sent in pursuit of the Prussians, Napoleon followed Wellington in the direction of Brussels, and on the evening of the 17th came up with him at Waterloo. The English army was partly hidden from the French by the undulations of the ground on the other side of a hill, but at night the bivouac fires showed the whole

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extent of its position, and gave Napoleon reason to hope that he might fight it on the morrow before the Prussians, whom he believed to be held in check by Grouchy, should have time to join it.

The high road of Charleroi, traversing the forest of Charleroi, divided the plateau of Mont Saint-Jean and the valley which separated the two armies. A little in the rear of the English, and at the very extreme of the forest, stood the village of Waterloo, which was to give its name to the disastrous battle of the morrow. Wellington had very skillfully posted his army on the plateau on each side of the Brussels road. Trusting in the speedy arrival of the Prussians on his left, he had concentrated the bulk of his forces on his right and center, and had occupied with a few battalions the Château of Hougomont and the farms of La Haye-Sainte and Papelotte, which were in front of his position, and which, being surrounded by orchards and woods, formed excellent natural defenses. The whole French army was deployed in a fan-shape, in three lines, in front of the English at the foot of the hill of Mont Saint-Jean. Ney commanded the first line, of which Reille's corps occupied the left, supported by Kellermann's cuirassiers, while Erlon was on the right, having behind him the division of the cuirassiers under Milhaud. Lobau's corps, on the second line, formed a reserve at the center. The infantry and all the cavalry of the guard, posted on each side of the Brussels road, formed a third line, which was less in extent, but deeper than the two others. The battle commenced by impetuous assaults on the advanced works which covered the right wing of the English. It was a feint, to draw the attention of Wellington from the main attack to be made upon the left wing. The wood of Hougomont, on the left, was first of all carried by General Reille, and desperate conflicts took place around La Haye-Sainte, which was many times taken and retaken, while the Count of Erlon's infantry attacked the English left. At last Ney carried and held La Haye-Sainte, and, excited by this success, asked of the emperor reinforcements, to enable him to make a decisive assault on the plateau itself. But before Napoleon could assist Ney on his left, it was necessary that he should cover and fortify his right against a portion of the Prussian army under Bülow, which was advancing to join the English left at Mont Saint-Jean. Lobau's corps, which was very inferior in numbers, was ordered to check the advance of the Prussians. The emperor, however, granted to Ney the eight regiments of Milhaud's cuiras-

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siers, although at the same time he ordered him to await his own directions before risking an attack. These fine regiments advanced to occupy the new position which had been assigned to them and drew along with them, in consequence of an unfortunate error, the whole of the cavalry of the guard. Ney, on perceiving this enormous and splendid mass of cavalry at his disposal, and seeing sixty pieces of English artillery ill protected before him, anticipated the emperor's orders, took the cannon, fell like a tempest on many squares of English infantry, and destroyed them. Then, taking with him, in spite of the remonstrances of their commander, Kellermann's cuirassiers and the last squadrons of reserve, he commanded and led eleven furious charges against the new squares of the enemy. He found before him living walls, which fell, half-destroyed, but which he could not drive back. Wellington remained firm at the head of the third line, and opposed a calm and admirable tenacity to Ney's feverish impetuosity. Infantry was necessary to Ney to enable him to hold his ground, and he urgently demanded it, but the Prussian corps of Bülow employed on the right all the infantry which Napoleon still possessed, with the exception of some battalions of his guard. Napoleon deplored the rashness of Ney as much as the absence of Grouchy, who had gone in pursuit of the Prussians in the wrong direction, but as the audacity of despair was now prudence, he himself sent these heroic battalions, his sole reserve, to the plateau on which Ney was in peril and thus made a final effort to obtain the victory. At this moment fresh Prussian columns debouched on the right. Blücher, who had concealed his movements from Grouchy, led them in person. His innumerable cavalry overflowed the plain and the sides of the hill, the theater of this frightful struggle, and rendered the emperor's charge impossible. Wellington now took the offensive in his turn. His third line, which was intact, was set in motion, and charged and overthrew the remains of the corps of Reille and Erlon, and of the French cavalry, which was now but an unformed and confused mass. Thus ended this frightful battle, which was the catastrophe of the first empire, and in which sixty thousand men, killed or wounded, were stretched upon the field.

Napoleon, who was forced from the field by his staff when all was over, named the city of Laon as the rallying point of the remains of the army, and then hastened to Paris to take measures for defending the French territory against the allies. The end was now

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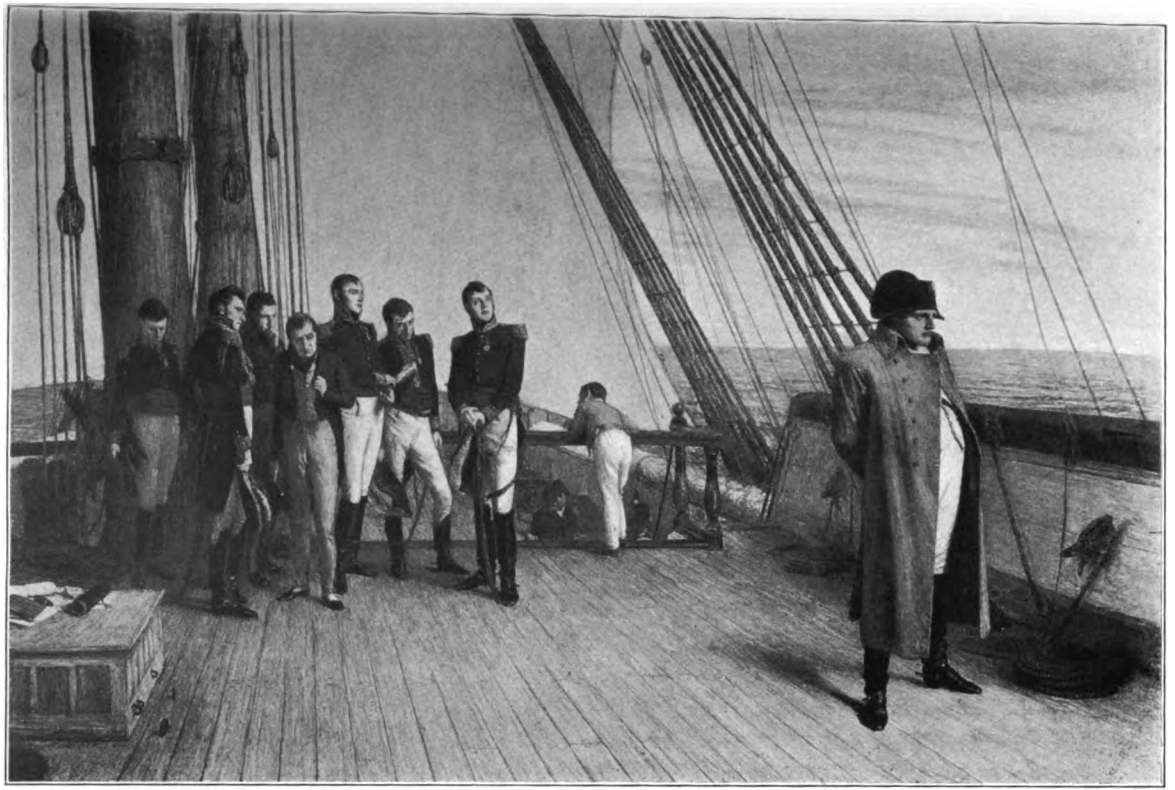

NAPOLEON, ON BOARD THE BELLEROPHON ON HIS WAY TO ST. HELENA, VIEWS THE FADING SHORES OF FRANCE

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at hand. The chamber of peers and the chamber of deputies, secretly instigated by Fouché, expressed a wish that the emperor should abdicate, and threatened, in case he should refuse, to decree his dethronement. Napoleon saw his friends themselves in a state of consternation and signed a second abdication in favor of his son. The chamber accepted the act of abdication, but nevertheless avoided declaring themselves in any absolute manner for Napoleon II., and formed a government composed of the ministers Carnot and Fouché, Generals Caulaincourt and Grenier, and the old conventionist Quinette. Fouché, who had betrayed the emperor, was appointed president of this provisional government. Napoleon quitted Paris, and resigning himself to the necessity of leaving France, proceeded towards Rochefort, under the protection of General Becker. But as the English cruisers blockaded the port, and there appeared no chance that Napoleon would be able to escape them, he determined to surrender himself to the English government, and then embarked with his suite on board the English vessel, the *Bellerophon*. Soon afterwards orders were sent to conduct him to Saint Helena, and he was almost immediately conveyed, for the repose of the world, to the rock which was to be his prison and his tomb.

A French army, consisting of eighty thousand men and three hundred pieces of cannon, had been collected under the walls of Paris, and the restoration of the Bourbons might still have been disputed. Filled with the idea, however, of the fate to which a fresh reverse might subject the capital of France, the chambers and the head of the government judged it more prudent to negotiate than to fight, and on July 3 a capitulation or military convention was signed at Saint-Cloud by three commissioners, in the name of the provisional government and by Wellington and Blücher, the generals in command of the English and Prussian forces. By this convention it was agreed that the French army should evacuate Paris and retire behind the Loire, that private and public property should be respected, and that the inhabitants of the city at the time of its capitulation should be in no way disturbed or annoyed in respect to their affairs, their conduct or their political opinions. On July 8 the king once more entered Paris. Talleyrand was made president of the new ministry, and Fouché, who had greatly conduced to the return of Louis XVIII., was rewarded by a place in the council and the portfolio of police. Two lists of proscribed

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persons were immediately drawn up and published in a celebrated decree dated July 24. Carnot was among them, and Fouché, his colleague in the ministry of the hundred days, signed the lists of proscription. The Prussian troops had entered the capital before the king, and their angry bearing gave reason to believe that they imagined that this time they had entered it less by virtue of a treaty than by right of conquest. They especially regarded with ferocious looks the monuments which were the trophies of the French victories, and it required a noble resistance on the part of Louis XVIII. to preserve the bridge of Jena from their revengeful violence. In spite of the capitulation the museums were forced to give up the art treasures that had been brought to Paris as the results of Napoleon's victories; every state, every city in Europe, demanded the restoration of the pictures and statues of which they had been despoiled.

The army of the Loire was disbanded and Gouvion Saint-Cyr, the minister of war, then planned the creation of a new army. It was at this period that the organization of the royal guard took place. The composition of the chambers underwent important modifications. The peerage, which in 1814 was hereditary or for life according to the will of the monarch, was rendered, in August, 1815, entirely hereditary. Many peers of the first restoration who had sat during the hundred days were deprived of their positions and the king nominated ninety-four new ones. A decree, dated July 13, submitted many articles of the charter to the revision of the legislative power and ordered the election of a new chamber of deputies on August 14. Most of the members that were then elected belonged to the class called ultra-royalist, and joined the chamber not only with ideas most hostile to the revolution, but also with a desire for vengeance, and with the confidence, too often rash, inspired by victory after a cruel defeat. It was now that the inextricable difficulties in which the government of the restoration was involved became manifest. In the chamber there were now two clearly defined parties, the royalists, who sought to extend the influence of the aristocracy and the clergy, basing their political system on tradition and facts consecrated by time; and the liberals, who aimed at bestowing upon the greatest possible number of men the social advantages and rights which had formerly only belonged to a limited number of privileged individuals, regarding liberty as the natural possession of human nature. These were the views of the moderate men of each party, but attached to each were found many

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who carried them to an extreme that was alike objectionable, imprudent and even unsafe. The struggle between the two parties lasted fifteen years, and commenced in 1815. Each appealed to what was obscure and ill-defined in the charter, either with the object of destroying it or of exacting from it more than it really promised. The royalists at first had the advantage. It was difficult for Talleyrand to maintain his position before a chamber filled with the resentments of the hundred days, and the Duke of Richelieu was ordered to form a new cabinet.

This statesman, who was president of the council and minister for foreign affairs, selected as his colleagues Barbé-Marbois, as minister of justice, Vaublanc and subsequently Lainé, as minister of the interior, Dubouchage, as minister of marine, and Corvetto, as minister of finance. The direction of the police was entrusted to Decazes, and Clarke, Duke of Feltre, was for some time minister of war, being succeeded by Gouvion Saint-Cyr. The first act of the Duke of Richelieu was to hasten the conclusion of the treaty which finally defined the burdens and sacrifices which the allies imposed on France. Their demands were reduced to five heads: 1st, the cession of the territory comprising the fortresses of Philippeville, Marienburg, Sarrelouis and Landau; 2d, the demolition of the fortifications of Hunningen; 3d, the payment of an indemnity of seven hundred millions, without prejudice to the debts due from the French government to the private persons of all the states in Europe; 4th, the restoration of the department of Mont Blanc to the King of Sardinia; 5th, the occupation for between three and five years, if the allies should think fit, of a line along the French frontiers, by an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, to be supported by France. The treaty was signed on November 20, 1815. These were not the only evils which France had to suffer in consequence of the disastrous events of the hundred days. Several departments of the south were long a prey to civil war and a bloody anarchy, and this fatal period was also distinguished by some horrible assassinations. The session was opened on October 7, and the chamber of deputies gave a free vent to its violent and reactionary passions. It demanded exceptional laws, which were adopted. One of these suspended individual liberty, another punished seditious crimes with transportation, and a third subjected periodical publications to the censorship. A vote of amnesty was indeed finally passed, but the regicides were excluded from it, and all were con-

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demned to perpetual banishment who had signed the "Additional Act," or who had been employed by the government of the hundred days. This measure touched Fouché himself, who was then the French ambassador at Dresden, and who died in exile. Bloody executions preceded the passing of this vote of amnesty. The young La Bédoyère was the first victim, and after him Ney was condemned to death and executed.[1] Lavalette, director-general of the posts during the hundred days, only escaped capital punishment through the devotion of his wife and the aid of three generous Englishmen, who favored his escape; and in course of the year many others who had been mentioned in the decree of July 24 were arrested, and tried, and executed.

The chamber, amid all this bloodshed, continued to advance towards the achievement of its objects, which were, first, the reëstablishment of legitimate royalty on its old basis; second, the formation of local independent administrations, so organized as to give great influence to the territorial and ecclesiastical interests; third, the creation by law of the powerful territorial aristocracy; fourth, the reëstablishment, financially and politically, of the French clergy. In spite of a formal engagement entered into by the king in the previous year, it proceeded to deprive the state creditors of the best guarantee for the payment of their debts, by declaring that the state forests should not be alienated, and that the church should recover possession of the property not yet sold which had belonged to the old clergy of France. The law of divorce was abolished; the clergy were authorized to accept every species of gift, and finally, it was proposed to place the university under the superintendence of the bishops and to bestow the civil registrarships upon the parish priests. The prudent resistance which the king opposed to the hastiness of the elective chamber was odious to the members of the majority. They openly accused him of revolutionary tendencies, boasted that they were more royalist than himself, and leagued themselves with the members of his own family for the purpose of opposing and frustrating his wishes.

The king had announced, on his return from Ghent, that thirteen articles of the charter would be submitted for revision, and it was evident that the chamber intended to make this a pretext for

[1] It is claimed, with considerable show of evidence, that Ney was not really shot, but was allowed to escape, and died some years afterwards in the United States.

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annihilating the charter altogether. The Count of Artois and his friends, who accused the king's government of being too liberal in 1814, shaped the course pursued by the chamber in 1815, and by the measures which were proposed and carried at their instigation, France now found herself pursuing a course contrary to her new institutions and the representative monarchy was itself in peril. Listening, therefore, to the suggestions of his own reason, and the earnest advice of the ministers, Richelieu, Decazes and Lainé, Louis XVIII. issued the famous decree of September 5, which dissolved the chamber of deputies, fixed, according to the text of the constitution, the number of deputies at two hundred and fifty-eight, and declared that no article of the charter should be revised. The command of the national guard was taken from the Count of Artois, and the result of the new election was such as answered the hopes of the ministry.

In the meantime the miseries of the country were at their height. Famine desolated France, oppressed by foreign troops, overburdened by ruinous charges and torn by domestic factions. The continual rains of 1816 inundated the plains, destroying the hopes of the farmers, and spreading contagious diseases among the cattle.

Some political laws were adopted in the course of this session, and one of them fixed certain prudent limits to the law passed in the previous session, which suspended individual liberty. But the most important legislative act of 1817 was the Electoral Law, which, for the first time since the restoration, sanctioned a legal course in the nomination of deputies. It established direct elections, and fixed the qualification of electors at three hundred francs, and of those eligible for election at a thousand francs; the chamber was to be renewed by fifths. The discussion of the budget was stormy, and the government, in spite of considerable opposition, transferred to the sinking fund the 150,000 hectares of woods which a previous majority had given to the clergy. Four millions of rents only, secured by the old property of the church, which still remained unsold, were voted for the clergy as an indemnity for what they had lost. The chamber of peers ratified this plan; and two days later, on March 26, 1817, the session was closed.

Laws of great importance were introduced in the session of 1817-1818, with the view of reëstablishing the army on a respectable footing. Although the law of conscription had been abolished by

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the charter, it was restored, though in a milder form than that in which it had been enforced under the empire, and the king was deprived of the unlimited power of granting commissions, while promotion was to be greatly dependent on seniority. Individual liberty ceased to be suspended, but the periodical press remained subject to the censorship. The illustrious head of the cabinet, the Duke of Richelieu, deserved well of his country at this time, by successfully employing his influence with Alexander and his allies for the purpose of obtaining the prompt withdrawal of the foreign troops from the French soil.

Thanks to him, the Emperor Alexander and his allies, assembled in conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, consented to evacuate the French fortresses and to recall their armies, and two billions of bonds inscribed in the great book of the public debt sufficed to liquidate the debt which France owed abroad. Shortly after this great event, which distinguished the year 1818, Richelieu gave in his resignation. Alarmed at the result of the last elections, which were for the most part in favor of the liberals, he had expressed a desire that the ministry should form an alliance with the extreme section of the royalist party, and that the law of elections should be modified. His wishes in this respect were not shared by some others of his colleagues, and as the chamber of deputies at the commencement of the new session had declared itself energetically in its address to the king against any modification of the electoral law, the retirement of the president of the council was decided. The chamber of peers, however, voted a resolution in favor of a change in the Electoral Law, which was vehemently opposed by the ministers and Royer-Collard, and rejected by the deputies. The conflict between the two chambers became day by day more virulent, and it appeared urgently necessary either to dissolve the chamber of deputies or to modify the votes of the chamber of peers. Several members of the cabinet, Lainé, Molé, Pasquier, and Roy, who had replaced Corvetto as minister of finance, withdrew with the Duke of Richelieu, and General Dessolle became president of the council. Serre received the seals, and Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr retained the portfolio for war. Louis was placed at the head of the finances, and Portal at the head of the marine. Decazes obtained the portfolio of the interior, and was in reality the head of the new ministry. The result of the elections of 1817 and 1818 was to give a majority to the moderate liberal party, and it

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was to be feared that there would no longer be any species of harmony between it and the chamber of peers.

Relying on the support, in the chamber of deputies, of the liberals, which gave it a liberal and constitutional majority, the ministry presented in the course of the session several laws favorable to the public liberties, the most important of which were those referring to the press and the journals, the independence of which had been hitherto provisionally suspended. The first of these proposed laws authorized the free publication of all non-periodical writings, while at the same time it declared every attack on good morals to be punishable. Two others contained the regulations to be enforced in the case of periodical publications and journals, in respect to which the registration of the names of the proprietors and responsible editors, and the deposit of a moderate security, was demanded. The principal articles of the proposed laws prohibited the anticipatory seizure of journals and periodicals, and referred to the judgment of a jury all crimes committed through the press, with the exception of libels against private persons, which remained subjects of inquiry by the correctional police. The three laws were adopted, after an animated discussion, by a large majority in each chamber. The state of the nation now began to be tranquil; foreign troops no longer encumbered its soil; commerce, industry and agriculture flourished, and public credit began to revive; everything, in fact, gave promise of a happy future. But party spirit was still ardent and implacable. The royalists were unwilling to make the slightest liberal concession, while the liberals, for their part, knew not how to be patient and compromised the future for the sake of obtaining a temporary triumph. There were many distinct factions in the liberal party, the most violent of which was the revolutionary party, which, looking upon the Bourbons as the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution, hoped to overthrow them. Constitutionalists, who numbered among their ranks all the moderate men of the liberal party, held above all things to the guarantees given by the charter, believing that in its rigorous observance alone lay the safety of France. In the latter party there existed a small group of men who allied themselves with the wiser members of the royalist party, refusing to regard the rights of the crown as distinct from those of the country, and considering them as equally inviolable. The members of this party were named the "doctrinaires," and the most prominent of them were Royer-Collard, De Broglie,

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Camille Jourdan and De Barante, in the chambers, and Guizot in the press. The ministry, during the legislative session of 1818 and 1819, was constantly in harmony with this party. Towards the end of that session, however, a violent rupture took place between the cabinet and the extreme portion of the liberal party. Many petitions had been presented for the purpose of obtaining by a general act of the legislature the recall of all who had been banished after the second restoration. This was firmly denied in the case of the regicides, and the denial ultimately led to a complete rupture between Decazes and the liberal party. The legislative session was closed on July 17, 1819.

The elections which took place in this year for the renewal of the third series of the chamber of deputies were chiefly made under the ever-increasing influence of the liberal party. Many of the members chosen were openly hostile to the Bourbons, and the king, seriously alarmed at the result of the elections and at the imperious demands of the liberals, yielded to the solicitations of his brother and family, and resolved to modify the electoral law; Decazes signified his approval of this course. Several of his colleagues, however, rightly thinking that his better course would have been to resign, retired from the ministry with the esteem of the public. These were Dessolle, Louis and Gouvion Saint-Cyr, who were replaced by Pasquier, for foreign affairs, Roy, for the management of the finances, and Latour-Maubourg for war. Decazes formed the new cabinet, and received the title of president of the council. His course of conduct, which had become undecided and wavering, irritated the liberals without conciliating the royalists, and the latter never relaxed in their attacks until a frightful event enabled them to overthrow him, and transferred the government to their hands. The Duke of Berry, second son of the Count of Artois, was assassinated on the evening of February 13, 1820, as he was leaving the opera. His death spread terror throughout Paris and all France, and the royalists unjustly declared that Decazes was responsible for it. In vain did the minister, for the purpose of appeasing his enemies, hasten to submit to the chambers exceptional laws directed against individual liberty and against the press, as well as a new law for the regulation of elections, but this only roused the liberal party against him, and both royalists and liberals combined to bring about his fall. The king was compelled to dismiss him, and Richelieu accepted the presidency of the cabinet,

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which retained all its members, with the exception of its head, and in which Siméon replaced Decazes as minister of the interior. The greater part of Europe was at this time in a state of violent effervescence. Spain had risen against Ferdinand VII. and compelled him to grant a constitution to the country. Portugal had re-

called her old king, John IV., who accepted a liberal constitution. A revolution in Naples had compelled Ferdinand IV. to consent to one precisely similar, while Germany was stirred up by the promulgation of liberal opinions, and Greece was seeking to liberate herself from the thraldom of Turkey.

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Chapter XXIII

THE REACTION UNDER CHARLES X. AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1830. 1820-1830

THE absolute monarchs, the Emperor of Austria, the Czar, and the King of Prussia, had signed, in 1815, a treaty famous under the name of the Holy Alliance, whose real object was the repression of the revolutionary spirit which had displayed itself throughout Europe in every direction in a manner very threatening to social order. Metternich, in the name of the Emperor of Austria, his master, convoked with this object, at Carlsbad, a congress which took energetic measures for the destruction of secret societies, and everything tending to subvert the then existing state of things; and a few months afterwards the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia consulted together at Troppau, in Silesia, on the means of stifling the revolution in Spain, Portugal, and the kingdom of Naples. Being assembled at a later period at a new congress at Laybach, they invited the old King of Naples, Ferdinand IV., to proceed thither to join them.

While the three allied sovereigns thus set themselves in direct opposition to the revolutionary spirit in France, the reaction that marked the reign of Charles X. had already begun to raise its head in the last years of Louis XVIII. The unfortunate consequences of some of the elections of 1819, and the fatal catastrophe of February, 1820, soon made themselves felt. Richelieu supported in the chamber the exceptional laws presented by Decazes, the first of which suspended individual liberty. This was carried, and so was the law aimed at the liberty of the press, by which the censorship of the journals was reëstablished for a year. The discussion on this measure was followed by still more angry debates on the new Electoral Law, which if carried, would deprive the middle and industrial classes of almost all their political influence to the profit of the great landed proprietors.

The law, as it was adopted, raised the number of deputies to four hundred and thirty, of which two hundred and fifty-eight were

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to be nominated by the district colleges, consisting of electors paying taxes to the amount of three hundred francs, while a hundred and seventy-two were to be elected by the colleges of departments, which were to consist of a fourth part of the most heavily-taxed electors of the department. The latter voted in the two colleges, and thus possessed a privilege over the others which was considered as a deviation from the charter, and which caused this new Electoral Law to receive the unpopular name of the Law of the Double Vote. The law was eventually passed by a small majority in the midst of sanguinary riots, and the session was closed on July 22. The stormy debates on the Electoral Law caused a most disastrous feeling of excitement throughout the whole of France. The liberal party found itself disarmed by it, and losing all hope of obtaining any preponderance in the state by legal methods, it had recourse to dark and guilty tactics, to conspiracies and plots. The army, filled with discontented men, was ready to second any movement hostile to the government and was honeycombed by many secret societies. A military conspiracy, which had ramifications in every part of the kingdom, was discovered in Paris on August 20, 1820. The leaders of the plot in the garrison of Paris were Major Bernard and Captain Nantil: the first made revelations, the second fled, and the conspiracy was crushed. A great number of their accomplices in every rank of life were arrested and taken before the court of peers. In the midst of the profound excitement caused by the discovery of this plot the Duchess of Berry gave birth to a son, who received the title of the Duke of Bordeaux, and whose birth seemed to promise a prolonged possession of the throne of France to the eldest branch of the Bourbons.

The elections which now took place were almost all favorable to the royalists. The majority of the deputies thus elected belonged to the extreme section of the royalist party. Disappointed in his hopes that the elections would be in favor of the moderate royalists, Richelieu felt compelled to give a new pledge to the royalist party by admitting to the council Lainé, as well as Villèle and Corbière, who exercised great influence over the right, or royalist, side of the elective chamber. The following legislative session showed how vain were the hopes in which the ministry still indulged that they would be able to carry on the government by the aid of the moderate men of the two parties. The whole left had been reduced by the late elections to a hundred deputies, who were all

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deeply irritated at the conduct of the moderate ministers, and who numbered among them men devoted to the principles of 1789, which they eloquently defended. All the functions of the liberal party, from the doctrinaires to the irreconcilable enemies of the Bourbons, were represented among them by their leaders. Opposed to them were confounded, under the name of royalists, the men attached to the legitimate monarchy as it had been made by the charter, and the much larger number who, looking upon the charter as an unfortunate legacy of the revolution, hoped, as they could not destroy it, at least to be able greatly to modify, by the aid of fresh laws, the effects of its principal clauses. The latter section, during the first months of the new session, did not venture to treat the revolution as entirely vanquished, but in the spring of 1821, when all the insurrections of the populations of Italy were crushed, and the Austrians, after an easy victory, were masters of the whole peninsula, the royalist party of France regarded itself victorious along with them, and the majority in the chamber of deputies again openly displayed the ardent passions which had animated the chamber of 1815. The new intentions of the royalist party manifested themselves in May, 1821, during the debate on a proposed law, by which it was sought to apply the amount of extinct ecclesiastical pensions to the endowment of twelve new bishoprics, the improvement of vicarages and curacies, and the repair of churches. This project was opposed by the royalists as insufficient and too restrictive of the rights of the church. The opposition attempted to completely change the character of the ministerial plan, but the ministry succeeded in preserving its principal clauses. The number of new bishroprics which the government had proposed should be twelve, was, in principle, raised to thirty, and the choice of the places where these sees should be founded was left to the king. The proposed law, as thus modified by the chamber of deputies, was adopted by that of the peers, and the condition of the clergy was then made pretty much what it remains at the present day. The next thing which excited the opposition of the royalist party was the proposal of a law relative to the hereditary grants bestowed by the imperial government, and which had been secured on the property, in conquered territories, which formed part of the emperor's "extraordinary domain." The remains of this, valued at four millions of *rentes,* had been incorporated with the state property by a financial law of 1818, and the state had thus become the debtor of all those on whom grants

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1821

had been bestowed under the empire. The law proposed by the government in March, 1821, granted *rentes* inscribed on the great book of the public debt to all the surviving grantees, divided into six classes; those coming under the first class to receive a thousand francs and those of the latter a hundred. The royalists, however, vehemently opposed it, and demanded that the soldiers of Condé's army, the Vendeans and Chouans, should be allowed, as well as the old grantees of the empire, to become sharers in what remained of the imperial "extraordinary domain." Their proposal was carried, but the law, as passed, recognized the possession of no absolute rights by the grantees, and only bestowed life pensions on the old soldiers who still survived, whether royalists or imperialists, or the heirs of those who were dead. The violent debates on this law were brought to a close at the moment when the trial of the persons concerned in the conspiracies of August 20 was about to commence in the court of peers. The latter reckoned among its members many of the most illustrious men of the empire, who bitterly resented the insults which had been heaped on the old army in the other chamber, and were thus inclined, perhaps, to look less harshly on the military conspirators brought before them for judgment. Most of the conspirators were acquitted, and one only, Captain Nantil, who had fled, was condemned to death.

The revolutionary spirit, which had but recently worn so serious an aspect throughout Europe, was now everywhere crushed, and a revolution in Piedmont, which had induced the King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, to abdicate in favor of his brother, Charles Felix, was put down in the spring of 1821 by the new monarch with the aid of Austrian troops.

A great event, the news of which had only recently reached Europe, caused a powerful sensation there. Napoleon had ceased to exist, having expired at St. Helena on May 5, 1821, in the midst of a few faithful friends, after several months of frightful agony, and after a captivity of six years. At this time a secret power invaded all branches of the public administration. During the last ten years there had sprung up an influential society, named "The Congregation," whose object, at first, was simply the performance of good works and religious duties. It had affiliated itself to the Jesuits, who, although they were not permitted to reside in France as members of the order, had founded many religious houses there under the name of "Fathers of the Faith." They had

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powerful supporters among the members of the royal family itself, and Louis XVIII. had consented to tolerate them, without, however, recognizing their legal existence. The members of the congregation finally began to take an active part in politics, and, being imbued as they were with the most reactionary principles, they became, under the patronage of Polignac and Rivière, a most formidable obstacle to the ministers Decazes and Richelieu. The elections of 1821 still further increased, in the chamber of deputies, the right side at the expense of the liberal left, and Lainé, Villèle and Corbière now quitted the cabinet, to which they were no longer willing to lend the support of their names, and which they left, at the commencement of a new session, face to face with an ardent royalist majority resolved to overthrow it. The liberals openly leagued themselves with their adversaries for the purpose of overthrowing the government. The opportunity offered itself at last in the proposal, by Richelieu and his colleagues, of two laws for the prolongation of the censorship and the increased stringency of the law repressive of the abuses of the press. The rejection of these by a large majority rendered the resignation of the government indispensable. Richelieu surrendered his portfolio into the hands of the king; his colleagues followed his example, and a new ultra-royalist cabinet was formed in December, 1821, of which the most influential members were Peyronnet, the keeper of the seals, Villèle, minister of finance, and Corbière, minister of the interior. The Duke of Belluno was made minister of war, while the portfolio for foreign affairs was given to Viscount Matthieu de Montmorency, a prominent member of the congregation, which thus won a place in the cabinet, its members thus obtaining the principal employments and offices under every ministry. From this time the government and the chamber of deputies followed unanimously a reactionary course. One of the first acts of the ministry was to take from juries the right of deciding respecting crimes committed by the press, and to pass two measures respecting it, of a very serious nature. According to the first, the political tendency of a series of articles might constitute an offense against the laws, although no one of them taken by itself could be so construed; according to the second, the censorship, in certain serious circumstances, might be reëstablished.

The year 1822 further witnessed the outbreak of a Bonapartist plot contrived by General Berton, who assembled a troop of young

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1822

men, soldiers and half-armed peasants, and marched at their head beneath the tricolor. He seized the city of Thouars in the name of Napoleon III., and marched upon Saumur, which he could not carry. Being now abandoned by most of his followers, he took to flight, but was arrested. About the same time there occurred a military revolt at Belfort, to which General Lafayette himself was not a stranger, but which was speedily crushed. Berton was taken before the court of assizes at Poictiers, and he and two of his accomplices lost their heads upon the scaffold; a third committed suicide. Paris was soon afterwards the theater of an afflicting scene. Four young sub-officers in garrison at Rochelle, convicted of having been engaged in a revolutionary plot, were condemned to death, and marched to the scaffold through the midst of a populace inspired at once by pity and resentment. It was thus that the government of the restoration thought that it might once more obtain protection against criminal plots and too real perils by means of rigorous chastisements.

A new congress of sovereigns now assembled at Verona, at which was discussed the important question of the Spanish revolution. Great disturbances, rendered inevitable by the weakness and the perfidy of Ferdinand VII., had broken forth in that country; sanguinary combats had taken place between the populace and the royal guards and the monks, who had been partially despoiled of their possessions, had excited a vast counter-revolutionary movement in Catalonia, and even established a regency, issuing proclamations in the king's name and raised an army of twenty-five thousand men, who penetrated into Aragon. The constitutional general, Mina, put this army to rout and left no hope to the royalists save in French intervention. The yellow fever, which desolated Barcelona, had some time since made Louis XVIII. resolve to post a cordon of troops on the Pyrenees frontier under pretext of sanitary precautions, and these troops might at any moment be converted into an army of invasion. Such was the state of things in Spain, in 1822, when the congress commenced its session at Verona. Châteaubriand and Montmorency represented France at Verona, while the Duke of Wellington was the representative of England. When, accordingly, French intervention in Spain was proposed, the Duke of Wellington opposed it, and Villèle, who had become president of the council, hoped that it might even yet be avoided or adjourned. But the majority in the chamber of the deputies were eager for

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war; the contagion of the Spanish revolution appeared dangerous to France, and more especially to Italy, in the eyes of the royalists and the three allied sovereigns, and they unanimously resolved to suppress it. The ambassadors of Russia, Austria, and Prussia immediately quitted Madrid. The ambassador of France, General Lagarde, was not yet recalled; Châteaubriand succeeded Montmorency at the head of foreign affairs. The extraordinary credits asked for the Spanish campaign were granted, and thenceforth war appeared inevitable. A numerous army was already assembled on the Pyrenees frontier, the command of which was taken at the end of March, 1823, by the Duke of Angoulême. The French troops crossed the frontier early in April and speedily arrived at Madrid, which the Cortes had left, carrying with them Ferdinand VII., first to Seville and then to Cadiz, after having declared him dethroned on account of imbecility. Negotiations were entered into with the moderate constitutional generals, and the Duke of Angoulême formed, in a spirit of conciliation, a Spanish regency at Madrid, under the presidency of the Duke of Infantado, with the intention of keeping in check the ultra-royalist party, whose blind violence and fanaticism threatened Spain with a murderous reaction. To prevent the scenes of brigandage and murder to which this party would have resorted without wholesome restraint, the Duke of Angoulême issued the celebrated decree of Andujar, which prohibited the Spanish authorities from arresting anyone without the sanction of the French officers, and placed the editors of the journals under the direct protection of these officers. The Cortes at Cadiz, however, refused to put faith in the promises of the duke, who pledged himself to obtain liberal institutions for them from their king. They rejected all his propositions, which their weakness should have induced them to accept, and the French troops then performed some gallant feats of arms. They attacked the formidable batteries of the Isle of Leon; the Trocadero was taken in the prince's presence; Cadiz submitted and Ferdinand VII. was immediately set free.

The war was at an end and Ferdinand took a savage vengence on the constitutional party. The immense expenses of the war remained a burden on France, and it may be said that the expedition was only beneficial to the ultra-royalist party, as its success enabled them to carry most of the partial elections which followed the campaign. This inspired Villèle with the idea of establishing his power

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on a mutual good understanding between the government and a septennial chamber, or one elected for seven years. To obtain a chamber subservient to his views the existing one was dissolved and every preparation made for a general election. In this, by reason of the undue influence exerted by the government, only nineteen liberal members were returned, thus giving the court party a majority which far surpassed their most ardent hopes.

At the opening of the legislative session, in March, 1824, the king, in his speech to the chamber, announced that two laws of great importance would be submitted to them. The object of one of these laws was to substitute for the quinquennial and partial renewal of the elective chamber directed by the charter its entire and septennial renewal; the other referred to the conversion of the *rentes* inscribed on the great book of the public debt. The adoption of this latter law, the monarch asserted, would allow of a great diminution in the taxes, and close the last wounds left by the revolution. The first of these proposed laws was presented by the ministry to the chamber of peers, and having been carried there, was introduced in the chamber of deputies, where it was passed by a large majority in spite of the opposition of the liberal party, led by Royer-Collard. The second project met with a very different fate. Its object was the conversion of the five per cent. *rentes,* which amounted to a hundred and forty millions, into three per cents., at the price of seventy-five per cent.; and bankers were engaged to furnish the necessary funds for the repayment at par of those holders of five per cent. *rentes* who might decline to accede to the proposed exchange. This plan, by which the government aimed at getting means to reimburse the losses suffered by the old emigrants or their families, excited much angry feeling. The chamber of deputies adopted it; but it was rejected by the chamber of peers, mainly through the tacit opposition of Châteaubriand. Villèle immediately demanded the dismissal of his colleague, which he obtained, and by this violent proceeding hastened his own fall. Châteaubriand, irritated at his dismissal, formed a new party adverse to the government, from among the royalists, and of this the *Journal des Débats* became the active and formidable organ. The liberal press generally at this time severely reproached the government for its retrograde tendencies, while the journals of the opposite party bitterly accused it of dilatoriness in satisfying the demands of the extreme royalists. This led the ministry to put into force those articles of the law

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which permitted it to prosecute journals on account of the general tendency of their articles. It brought several editors to trial in the royal courts, and in almost every case the magistrates made common cause with the press against the court and cabinet. The government rendered the opposition of the judges still more determined by censuring their judgments, and, as the ministers saw a serious danger in the acquittals pronounced by the royal courts, they reëstablished the censorship on this ground alone, and thus declared themselves in direct opposition to the magistracy. The clergy obtained at this period the appointment of a minister for ecclesiastical affairs. The first appointed was a bishop, Frayssinous, and the direction of public instruction was made one of his functions.

The king was now on the verge of the tomb. On Sunday, September 10, he could not hold an audience, and a few days later he lay on his deathbed, surrounded by the members of the royal family. The old monarch called down upon all his relations the benediction of Heaven, and laying his hand on the Duke of Bordeaux, the last and feeble offspring of his race, he said, with a voice full of emotion, as he looked at his brother, "Let Charles X. preserve the crown for this child." He gave his last sigh, after a protracted agony, and Charles X. was king.

Charles X., who was attached by all his feelings to the ancient system of things while reigning under the new, looked upon all who had defended the principles of the revolution as indiscriminately guilty of the prolonged calamities of France, always suspected them in spite of the devotion which many of them had displayed for the monarchial cause, and constantly refused to enter into relations with them. Averse to all violent reaction, and naturally benevolent, he loved popularity, and protested his respect for the charter; but at the same time, while accepting and swearing to maintain it, he would not admit that it had established in France powers which were rivals of his own, or a government which did not spring from his own sole authority. He regarded the two chambers only as bodies in possession of political powers more extensive, doubtless, than those of the parlements and the ancient estates of the kingdom, but which did not possess more extensive rights than those assemblies. Finally, Charles X. regarded as dangerous and humiliating to his crown any concession to public opinion, and was full of anxiety to reconstruct upon their old foundations, as far as possible, the authority of the throne, the aristocracy, and the clergy, believing that

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this was the only means of securing the safety of the monarchy and of France.

The suppression of the censorship, which Villèle and his colleagues had revived, was regarded as a favorable omen at the commencement of the reign. But while releasing the press from the censorship, Charles X. did not repudiate the acts of a minister whom it condemned, but on the contrary, accepted them, by maintaining him in power. Then those of the moderate liberals who had been too ready to hope, were disabused, and public opinion was exasperated by a series of unpopular projects presented in succession to the chambers during the sessions of 1825 and 1826.

The first of these plans, already announced by the late king in his last speech to the chamber, proposed to grant to the emigrants or their heirs a billion of francs, as an indemnity for the possessions of which they had been dispossessed during the revolution. This plan was vehemently attacked in the chamber of deputies by members of the extreme right, because they did not consider that the plan offered the emigrants sufficient reparation, while the liberals in the chamber and without it thought that the scheme of reimbursement should be extended to the members of the Legion of Honor who had been deprived of their allowances from 1814 to 1821. The two chambers, however, adopted the law which gave an indemnity to the emigrants or their heirs without including the members of the Legion of Honor. While this law was being discussed in the chamber of deputies, that of the peers was deliberating with respect to a project relating to the female religious communities. The principal object of the proposed law, which legalized the communities already established, was to render a simple royal decree sufficient for the establishment of new ones. As this would prove the means of sanctioning (which would subsequently allow the authorization) by a simple decree the existence of the Society of Jesus, and of the numerous establishments which they already posessed in numerous parts of France in despite of the laws to the contrary, it excited even greater opposition than the former one in both chambers; but in spite of this, and the angry feelings which it excited against the government throughout the country, it was passed. In the following session, 1826, the government proposed a law, according to which, in default of the formal expression of any wish on the subject on the part of the testator, a considerable privilege would be created in favor of primogeniture in the case of

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all estates paying land taxes of three hundred francs or upwards. This endeavor to substitute the power of the law for the will of the head of the family, for the purpose of reëstablishing in France a territorial aristocracy, wounded one of the most nervous fibers of a democratic people, and betrayed a design to drive France back towards the social order of the old system. On this account, especially, it excited a great feeling of animosity against its authors, and few acts of the restoration were more strongly opposed to public opinion. The chamber of peers rejected the law, with the exception of the clause which extended the rights of a testator as to the disposal of a portion of his property. This decision made a great sensation throughout the kingdom; Paris illuminated and the chamber of peers shared for a time with the chief magistracy the popular favor.

This long series of reactionary measures, which were so fatal to the moral authority of the government, was interrupted in 1825 by the solemnities of the consecration. Charles X. appeared at Rheims, surrounded by all the old pomp of the royal majesty, took there an oath to preserve the charter inviolate, and received the crown at the hands of the archbishop, in the midst of an ancient ceremonial which was little in harmony with the ideas of the age, and in which the new generation, unfortunately, could only see an inopportune act of deference towards the clergy. Shortly after this event Montlosier denounced the vast organization of the Congregation as dangerous to the existence of religion in France and to the safety of the state, and Frayssinous having acknowledged the existence of Jesuits in the kingdom, Montlosier appealed to the laws against their reëstablishment in France in the royal court of Paris. The latter having declared itself incompetent to proceed against them, Montlosier immediately applied to the chamber of peers, which received the petition and referred it to the president of the council. Upon this the government resolved to shackle the press, which denounced the Jesuits to the country, and to stifle the opposition in the chamber of peers, which invoked against it the rigors of the law. To effect its objects it was necessary for the government to reduce the number of electors who were most lightly taxed, and who belonged to the classes most attached to the liberal cause. It accordingly presented a proposition for the reduction of the land-tax.

The session of 1826 was closed in July. Public opinion, irritated by so many measures dictated by a policy contrary to the

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national feeling and subservient to the Congregation and the Jesuits, burst forth into complaints and menaces. From this profound discontent, which was in itself a great evil, there sprang also, as the consequence of a natural reaction of the public mind, an unfortunate tendency to confound royalty and the government in one common blame, a fatal disposition which is but too readily recognizable in many publications of the period. In the meantime, Villèle, in spite of his increasing unpopularity, persisted in clinging to power. Determined to be the sole master of the position, he had successively removed from power the most eminent men, Decazes, Lainé, Richelieu, and Châteaubriand, all of whom had powerful friends in the chamber of deputies, where he himself was now very weak, and he had altogether lost the majority in the chamber of peers. He resolved to strike in the person of the press the most formidable opponent of his power, and at the commencement of the following session, Peyronnet, the keeper of the seals, presented to the deputies a law, the object of which was to restrain the liberty of the press within the narrowest limits in respect to pamphlets and books, and to stifle it altogether in respect to journals and periodicals.

The proposed law excited an almost universal feeling of indignation, the French Academy appointed a committee of its members to draw up a petition to the king for the withdrawal of the project. This petition Charles X. refused to receive, and replied to it by the infliction of punishment, depriving Villemain, Lactretelle, and Michaud of their offices. The law, which was adopted by the chamber of deputies, was vehemently opposed in that of the peers. The cabinet foresaw that, even if this chamber accepted it, it would at least reject its most rigorous clauses, and saved it from so dangerous an operation by withdrawing it. This news was received with acclamations by the populace of Paris, already a prey to a formidable excitement, the symptoms of which were displayed in the midst of bonfires and popular cries. Fresh and irrefragable signs of the general feeling were manifested every day, and it was impossible to doubt the sincerity or the power of public opinion which was supported by all the greatest and most esteemed bodies in the state, the peerage, the high magistracy, the institute, the ministry, and even the wisest and most eminent men of the royalist party.

And yet the cabinet persevered, determined to brave everything, as though fascinated by the deceptive prestige of a factitious parlia-

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mentary majority, the result of the double vote, and torn from France by an unlimited administrative centralization. Charles X., while thus opposing every liberal feeling, was nevertheless anxious that the French should be personally attached to him. He had long been hurt at the silence of the people when he passed among them, and after having witnessed the enthusiasm of the Parisians on the occasion of the withdrawal of the law respecting the press, he ordered a general review of the national guard for the following Sunday. The king was favorably received, but in almost every instance the cry of "*Vive le roi!*" was mingled with a shout of hostility against the ministers. The princesses who were present at the review were also exposed to insult, and at the instigation of the offended members of his family and Villèle and Corbière he dissolved the national guard. The liberal press and the opposition journals vehemently reproached the president of the council for this inconsiderate act of vengeance, and immediately after the session the censorship was arbitrarily reëstablished. A strong opposition against the decree which dissolved the national guard arose in the chamber of peers, and appeared also in the chamber of deputies, where the minority hostile to the ministers increased every day in strength. Already many members had declared that although a recent law had sanctioned the septenniality of the legislature, they had been elected only for five years, and could not retain their seats for any longer time in the chamber. Villèle resolved, therefore, to secure the duration of his power and the execution of his plans by the election of a new septennial parlement which should be more docile than the existing one, and in November, 1827, appeared the decree by which the chamber of deputies was dissolved. The electoral colleges were convoked and seventy-six peers created, most of the latter being members of the majority of the old chamber and large landed proprietors whose great fortunes recommended them to the royal favor.

The cabinet had overstepped the mark, and public opinion, so long misconstrued, crushed and braved, now exploded simultaneously in every part of the kingdom. All the members of the left who had been rejected in the preceding election reappeared, and the result of the appeal to the popular vote throughout France was the formation in the chamber of an imposing constitutional majority. Many of them returned to it deeply irritated, disposed to make the most violent resistance to the policy of the

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cabinet. It was in vain that Villèle still endeavored to retain office by sacrificing those of his colleagues who were the most compromised, and in vain that he exhausted every species of combination for the formation of a council in harmony with the new chamber, and in which, at the same time, he might himself have a place. He was compelled at length to confess his powerlessness, and fell before that public opinion which he had too haughtily disdained.

Having shown the chief points in which the Villèle ministry had rendered itself odious to all parties, it may now be well to notice a few more satisfactory measures which it effected in its financial operations and foreign policy. It favored the increasing credit which France now began to enjoy, the efforts of its manufacturing industry, and its trade with other nations. It emancipated the old colony of Saint Domingo, on condition of the payment of a considerable indemnity to the dispossessed colonists, and by the treaty of July 6, 1827, the French government joined with England and Russia for the purpose of putting a stop to hostilities between Turkey and Greece. The son of Mehemet-Ali, Ibrahim Pasha, having been summoned to his aid by the sultan, arrived in the Morea with a formidable fleet, and had it not been for the intervention of the powers the Greeks, who were utterly exhausted, must have been lost. Ibrahim refused to observe the armistice prescribed by the powers, and this refusal led to the celebrated battle in which the French squadron, under Admiral Rigny, together with the English and Russian squadrons, attacked and destroyed the Egyptian fleet in the port of Navarino, October 20, 1827. This victory saved the Greeks and raised them to the rank of a nation.

The new council was formed on January 4, 1828. There was no president of the council, but Martignac, a talented and judicious man, who was very ready of speech and full of tact, gave his name to the new cabinet, which lost no time in introducing some important laws conceived in a liberal spirit. One of these abolished the censorship, and others sanctioned the system of speciality in the great divisions of the budget, and the permanence of the electoral lists, and controlled the action of government officials in respect to elections. Finally, the right of interpreting the laws was recognized as belonging to the two branches of the legislature.

The most difficult achievement of the ministry was the issuing of two decrees, which forbade the Jesuits to take part in the instruction of youth. By one of these decrees the secondary ecclesiasti-

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cal schools were placed under the common law, and by another it was ordained that no one should either teach in or direct them who belonged to any society not authorized by law. These decrees were the most painful concessions which Charles X. made to the demands of the age, and no sacrifice could have cost him more. The Congregation felt itself wounded by them to the heart, and the king was surrounded by cries of anger and indignation. The distrust with which Charles X. had always regarded the ministry which had been forced on him by the pressure of public opinion was now changed into aversion, and he saw with satisfaction the opposition Martignac and his colleagues encountered from the liberals, who began to be more eager in their demands for strong guarantees against the return of the royalist party to power than for the passing of laws which would tend to the good of France. The king hoped that the moment would come when the ministers would be condemned by the people at large, and he trusted to be able to find in their dismissal by the popular voice a reason or a pretext for returning to the men of his choice. About this time two important laws, one of which related to the organization of the municipal councils, while the other regulated those of the departments and the arrondissements, were submitted to the chamber of deputies. Men of all parties concurred in refusing to support them, and an announcement from the ministry in conformity with the king's orders that no modification of the proposed laws would be permitted, having been followed by a division in favor of an amendment, they were immediately withdrawn. The court rejoiced in the defeat thus suffered by the cabinet, Charles X. resolved to dismiss his council, and on August 8, 1829, after the vote for the budget of 1830, and the close of the session, appeared the decree which created a new cabinet.

Three noteworthy men, the Prince of Polignac, Bourdonnaye, and Bourmont, were made members of the new cabinet as a sort of defiance to public opinion. The first was the living expression of the Congregationist party, the second represented all that was most violent in the unpopular chamber of 1815, and the third, an old leader of the Chouans, was only known to the people and the army as a deserter from the French camp at Waterloo. As soon as the names of the new ministers were announced the press passed by turns from expressions of rage to those of insulting pity, from disdain to threats. Preparations were made to offer a vigorous resistance to the court by means of the elections, and in every part

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of the kingdom a vast association was formed for prevention of the dreaded imposition of illegal taxes. On March 2, Charles X., displaying for the last time all the pomp of royalty, declared in the presence of the assembled deputies and peers his firm intention to maintain equally intact the institutions of the country and the prerogatives of the crown. The composition of the address from the deputies in answer to the speech from the throne gave rise to a very animated debate, in which two already famous men, Guizot and Berryer, made their entrance, on opposite sides, into parliamentary life. The address which was proposed pointed out to the king that the composition of his cabinet was dangerous and threatening to the public liberties, and it also explained that the necessary harmony between the political views of the government and the views of the nation did not exist, and entreated him to reëstablish it. It was carried by a majority of forty in a house of four hundred and two, and Charles X., after having heard it, displayed much irritation, and declared that his resolutions were known and would remain immutable. The chamber was prorogued and then dissolved. The king issued a decree which again convoked the electoral colleges. The two hundred and twenty-one signers of the address were almost all reëlected, and the opposition was reinforced by many new members.

In the meantime an affront offered to the French consul gave the ministry an opportunity of purging the sea of the Barbary pirates. An expedition was sent against Algiers, under Bourmont, the minister of war, and Admiral Duperré, and the city was taken.

The political struggle at length approached its determination. The general result of the elections was known, and the ministry found itself in front of a majority still more compact, impatient, and hostile. Most of the members of the majority, however, did not wish for the overthrow of the throne, and were sincerely attached to the constitution, but to be devoted to the constitution was, in the eyes of the court, to be the enemy of the court, and thus, by refusing its support to the men who wished for the charter with the Bourbons, it inclined them to join those who wished for the charter without the Bourbons. The king himself believed that he had a great mission to fulfill, and that a great duty had devolved upon him to stifle liberalism and to establish his government on exclusively religious and monarchical bases. He had persuaded himself that the fourteenth article of the charter, which authorized the king to issue

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decrees for the safety of the state, also authorized him to leave the path of legality if the state, being in peril, could not be saved by legal measures. In his eyes the safety of the monarchy depended on the continuance in office of the ministers he had appointed, and the triumph of the throne over a chamber which he accused of wishing to overthrow it. At the same time he was not conscious that he was violating the charter or perjuring himself when he made the article above named an excuse for violating it. During the last days of July the king remained inflexible, but his ministry still deliberated, and either because it hesitated or because it wished to change public opinion, sealed letters were sent to the members of the two chambers convoking them for August 3. Five members of the council spoke of the danger of having recourse to violent and illegal measures, but as the king, by interpreting every refusal as a sign of weakness and an abandonment of himself at the moment of danger, had thus transformed the question of state into one of honor, a blind feeling of devotion was alone attended to. On July 26 the *Moniteur* published an explanation drawn up by Chantelauze, and followed by the famous decrees signed on the previous evening, which suppressed the liberty of the press, annulled the late elections, and arbitrarily created a new electoral system. A prolonged and sullen murmur spread through Paris at the publication of these decrees, and on the following day there appeared in the opposition journals an energetic protest, signed by forty-three of their principal contributors or editors, among whom were Rémusat, Thiers, Mignet, Armand, Carrel, Bande, and Chatelain. They declared that they could not submit to illegal decrees, and urged the deputies to resist them, to regard themselves as legally elected, and to protest with themselves. Orders were given for the destruction of their presses, and a struggle took place in the printing offices, which was speedily transferred to the streets, in which the multitude on the same evening tore down the insignia of monarchy, with the cry of "The charter forever!" and improvised numerous barricades. Paris was declared in a state of siege, and Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, who was placed in command of the troops, led them against the insurgent populace, occupied all the strategical points, and summoned additional regiments from the neighboring garrisons. But already the Hôtel de Ville, abandoned by the two prefects, had fallen into the hands of the insurrectionists; the tricolor was raised there, and the word "republic" was echoed again and again by the excited

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A BARRICADE IN THE BOULEVARD MONTMARTRE, PARIS, DURING THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

Painting by G. Cain

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crowd. A portion of the opposition deputies who were in Paris, and among whom were Casimir Périer, Laffitte, Lafayette, the elder Dupin, Charles Dupin, Guizot, Villemain, Sebastiani, Benjamin Constant, Salverte, Puiraveau, and Maugin, having assembled on the morning of the 28th, voted, with some modifications, a declaration drawn up by Guizot, in which they forcibly protested against the decrees of the 26th, and declared themselves legally elected and incapable of being replaced save by virtue of elections conducted according to the forms ordained by the law. By the evening of the 28th the whole of Paris with the exception of the quarter of the Louvre and the Tuileries had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and on the morning of the day following the deputies who had drawn up the protest in compliance with the wishes of the chief citizens made Lafayette commander-in-chief of the national guard, and nominated a municipal committee charged with the duty of providing for the safety of life and property, and of providing for the government of the city. This committee, with Lafayette and his staff, immediately took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where it installed itself in the midst of a crowd excited by victory, but which knew how to respect itself by prohibiting, on pain of death, devastation and pillage.

On the morning of the 29th the struggle still continued in the capital with all that increasing audacity with which the multitude had been inspired by the success of the previous evening. The country around Paris had risen and cut off communication with the city. The royal army was devoid of the necessary supplies, and as it received neither provisions nor reinforcements was much discouraged. Reduced in numbers by wounds, death, and desertion, it was unable to maintain its position in Paris. The Louvre, which was ill defended, was taken by the people, and Marmont ordered a retreat upon Saint Cloud, where the king and court then were. The king up to this time had remained inflexible in the midst of those who entreated him to revoke his fatal decrees, and it was not until Marmont had evacuated Paris and had reappeared at Saint Cloud with the remains of his battalions that Charles X. yielded, revoked his decrees and ordered the Duke of Montemart to form a ministry.

But it was too late. Too much blood had been spilled and the municipal committee of Paris rejected the court's overtures. The danger of the latter grew greater every hour. Whole regiments

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appeared in the ranks of the insurgents, and Paris was preparing to march upon Saint Cloud. During the night of July 29 Charles X. retreated to Versailles. There was, however, much reason to fear that the union maintained among the citizens of the immense capital during the conflict would be broken at the moment of selecting a new government. Some wished to establish a republic, while others, representing the immense majority of the citizens, desired to retain a monarchical and constitutional government. But to effect this it was necessary to find a man already elevated above all by his private position, and who had given incontestable pledges of his devotion to the public liberties. Such a man existed in the person of the Duke of Orleans. This was the opinion of the deputies who had spontaneously assembled at the Palais Bourbon, and, at the suggestion of Benjamin Constant, they voted a declaration to the effect that his royal highness, the Duke of Orleans, should be requested to proceed immediately to the capital for the purpose of exercising there the functions of lieutenant-general for the kingdom. The declaration at the same time expressed a wish that the colors raised by the insurrectionists should be retained as those of the nation. A deputation which was appointed to carry this declaration to the prince at the chateau of Neuilly did not find him, but left their message. On the following day the prince entered Paris. Time pressed, for the insurrectionary movement in defense of the charter was rapidly changing into an agitation in favor of a republic. The next day (July 31) the duke published a manifesto to the French people ending with the words, "From now on, the charter will be a reality." The conservative class, led by a group of deputies, rallied to his support, and the duke, betaking himself to the Hôtel de Ville, won over Lafayette and put an end to the republican movement.

Meanwhile, Charles X. had gone from Versailles to Rambouillet, but threatened by the revolutionary army advancing from Paris, he decided to leave France, going for the last time into exile. On August 16 he embarked at Cherbourg for England. Before quitting France, Charles sent to the chambers his abdication and that of the dauphin, his son, in favor of the Duke of Bordeaux, but the Duke of Orleans concealed the latter part of the message, and the deputies called to the throne his royal highness, Louis Philip of Orleans, and his male descendants in perpetuity. The peers immediately assented to the views and acts of the other cham-

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ber, and salvos of artillery announced the royal sitting of the morrow. On that day, August 9, 1830, the Duke of Orleans, accompanied by his eldest sons, the Dukes of Chartres and of Nemours, went in solemn procession to the Palais Bourbon, where were assembled the peers, the deputies, the diplomatic corps, and numerous other persons, and, after having formally sworn to observe the constitutional charter as recently modified, ascended the throne under the title of Louis Philip I., King of the French.

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Chapter XXIV

THE MONARCHY OF THE PROPERTY CLASS
1830-1838

THE government of July, threatened as it was by so many enemies within, had also declared and secret enemies in most of the foreign governments, which looked upon its establishment as a danger to all thrones. Among the European powers it had but one ally, Great Britain, which was then engaged in the great question of parliamentary reform, and whose sympathies were enlisted in favor of a revolution in some respects analogous to that which had confirmed its own liberties and power. The new monarchy necessarily derived its chief strength from the middle or citizen class, which found in the charter and the principles avowed by the new government the faithful expression of its wishes. Enlightened by its interests, it had recognized order and security as the very conditions of its existence. All powerful in the cities and towns of any importance, it possessed the larger portion of the movable property of the nation, and reckoned among its ranks the most enlightened, intelligent, and influential men of the country. It loved itself in the man of its choice, in the able and experienced prince whom it had raised to the throne, and the new government, which took for its motto, Order, Liberty and Peace, was accepted by it as the best guarantee against the spirit of revolution and of conquest. It was necessary that the government should be, with respect to domestic affairs, very firm, and decidedly opposed to the spirit of disorder and anarchy, prompt to prevent as well as to restrain the acts of demagogues, and nevertheless the friend of free institutions and of progress; very sympathetic with respect to the lot of the laboring classes and deeply anxious to ameliorate their moral and physical condition. Its task with respect to foreign nations was equally complex, for it was requisite that it should be at once proud and moderate, liberal and yet non-revolutionary, patriotic, bold and yet pacific. The difficulties in the way of the new government were immense, but its safeguard and security lay in its resting on bases as large as possible among the classes more

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particularly interested in maintaining it—namely, those which 1830 had placed in possession of power, and in whom was the real focus of public opinion. The charter, finally, could not become a reality if the country did not take a genuine share in the conduct of its own affairs, and if the government did not remain faithful to its principle and mission. Its task was very difficult and complicated, and few even of those who were sincerely attached to the new order of things, and who, after having taken part in establishing it, wished to defend it, understood its full extent. Although unanimous with respect to the end to be attained, they were not so with respect to the means.

Some considered that the first and most necessary thing to be done was to keep down the revolutionary spirit, and to oppose to demagogism a resistance as courageous as obstinate; many others, on the contrary, saw more danger in resisting the current than in following it. The policy of the members of the two parties was also very different with respect to the relations with foreign nations. Those of the former party, seeing Europe disturbed at what had taken place, were anxious to reassure it and to conciliate its various governments. They joined with the king in desiring the maintenance of treaties and of peace, and dreaded a revolutionary propagandism, the inevitable consequence of which would have been a general conflagration and calamities without number. The latter, on the other hand, thought that the France of July was called upon to support insurrection everywhere, and that the hour had come when, relying upon the sympathies of the people, a striking revenge should be taken for the affronts of 1815. These two tendencies, in many respects so opposite, caused the partisans of the new régime to be classified as the men of resistance and the men of movement. The opinions of the first were dominant in the two chambers, and were those also of the doctrinaires who, especially at this period, added to the great party of order a strength as considerable as it was incontestable. Chief among the second were some of the principal leaders of the old left, or liberal party, Dupont de l'Eure, Jacques Laffitte, Salverte, Benjamin Constant, etc. One of the most distinguished of them was Odillon Barrot, a brilliant orator, who was destined to become the chief of a powerful party in the parliamentary opposition. At their head, finally, was General Lafayette, the commander-in-chief of the national guards. Louis Philip, at the commencement of his reign, displayed much ability in selecting

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the most influential members of these two parties to form his council. The men of resistance were the more numerous in the first council presided over by the king, in which, by the side of Dupont de l'Eure, the keeper of the seals, sat Molé as minister for foreign affairs, Guizot, minister of the interior, and Broglie, minister of public instruction and worship. The existence of this ministry was brief and agitated, but it provided with intelligence and courage for the necessities of the moment. At its suggestion one hundred millions of francs were voted by the chambers to be distributed among workmen, and they voted a credit of thirty millions as a guarantee for loans and advances to persons engaged in commerce. Other urgent laws were prepared and the cabinet at the same time carried on active negotiations with foreign powers. Success crowned its efforts and the new monarchy was recognized by all the powers.

A very serious event, however, occurred to place the peace of Europe in peril. Belgium, united to the Dutch territory by the treaties of 1815, had severed its connection with Holland. King William having demanded the assistance of the Prussian troops to reduce his revolted subjects to obedience, Molé put forward the doctrine of non-intervention and checked the advance of the Prussian army by declaring that if it set foot on the Belgian territory the French army would enter it also. To prevent a European war the great powers thereupon agreed to decide between Holland and Belgium. A conference took place for this purpose in London and Louis Philip sent Talleyrand to represent France. While the position of affairs was thus disturbed abroad, it was still more alarming at home. A petition for the abolition of capital punishment had been presented to the chamber of deputies, and the chamber had sanctioned the wish that it expressed. Popular outbreaks followed in many parts of Paris in consequence of a rumor having got abroad that this petition had been got up by the government for the purpose of saving Polignac and other ministers of Charles X., who had been imprisoned in Vincennes and were awaiting their trial before the court of peers. The prefect of the Seine, Odillon Barrot, censured the vote of the deputies in favor of the abolition of capital punishment as injudicious, and, when threatened with deprivation of his office, was supported by several of the ministers in opposition to their colleagues. There was discord, therefore, in the highest regions of power, and Paris was in a state of partial insurrection when the trial of the ministers was about to commence. The king,

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in these critical circumstances perceived the necessity of having recourse to men possessed of great popularity for the purpose of resisting the popular torrent, and accepting therefore the resignation of Broglie, Guizot and Louis, November, 1830, he made Laffitte minister of finance and president of the council. In spite, however, of the changes in the ministry, while the trial of Polignac and his colleagues lasted, disturbances in Paris continued to rage with a ferocity which called to mind the most fatal days of the revolution. Calm in the midst of this frightful crisis and unanimously refusing to pass a capital sentence, the court of peers condemned Polignac to transportation and his three colleagues to perpetual imprisonment. But a savage mob demanded their heads and threatened to inflict the most desperate outrages on the prisoners and their judges, and its rage was with difficulty held in check by the national guard. The minister of the interior and General Lafayette were foremost in striving to defend the condemned men, and for this purpose nobly risked their lives. Their efforts were successful; Paris was preserved from the horrors of a new second of September, and the condemned ministers were conveyed from Vincennes to the castle of Ham to undergo their punishment.

During the short existence of this ministry the chambers passed the most liberal and popular laws of the new reign. One law decorated the citizens who had particularly distinguished themselves in the days of July, and others submitted offenses committed by the press to the judgment of a jury, rendered the municipal councils elective and gave a new organization to the national guard. This latter law confided arms to everyone without distinction and rendered the appointment of most of the officers a mere matter of election, without any interference on the part of the crown, and thus created a great danger to the crown.

Italy fell into a state of insurrection, and the Pope had already lost a great portion of his provinces when, being threatened themselves with the loss of their Lombard and Venetian possessions, the Austrians hastened to interfere, stifled the insurrection, and reestablished the shaken throne. About the same time an insurrection burst forth in Poland and almost the whole of the Russian kingdom of Poland fell into the hands of the insurgent nation. The duchy of Warsaw and its capital believed that they were freed, and the dethronement of the Romanovs was shortly afterwards declared by the diet. In France these great events were sympathized with by

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almost all classes of the population. The revolutionary party loudly demanded that France should simultaneously oppose Russia—which was now preparing to fall upon Poland—Austria, the conference in London, and the Pope. It loudly demanded war at a time when France had only a disorganized army, when its finances were in the worst possible state and when its credit was at the lowest ebb. It is to the honor of Louis Philip that he energetically opposed this dangerous course, and while he did his duty by negotiating in favor of the Poles, he abstained from threatening demonstrations, which, to have been effectual, must have been followed by the revolutionary measures of a sinister epoch. Popular discontent burst forth with renewed violence in Paris on February 14, 1831, on the celebration of a funeral service for the Duke of Berry at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois by a great number of the partisans of the late régime, who now began to be commonly called legitimists. The ceremony proved the means of exciting a fierce riot, which the authorities were slow to suppress. The next day the church and the sacristy were shamefully pillaged, and the archbishop's palace was destroyed. The chambers, justly indignant, held the government and the municipal authorities responsible for these barbarous acts, and the two prefects of Paris, Baude and Odillon Barrot, were deprived of their offices. At the same time the deputies opened the way for the formation of a new chamber by remodeling the Electoral Law. This law abolished the double vote, reduced the amount of taxes, the payment of which qualified a man to be eligible as a member of the chamber of deputies, to five hundred francs, and gave the electoral vote to all who paid two hundred.

The scenes which had taken place in Paris were repeated in many of the departments, and to many causes of discontent, trouble and disquietude were added those arising from the alarming state of the finances. On the eve of the dissolution of the chamber and the cabinet, Laffitte demanded a supplementary credit of two hundred millions for the purpose of meeting the extraordinary necessities of the state, and this supply he obtained only with much difficulty at the hands of an uneasy and angry majority. This and other circumstances, especially the disturbed state of Paris and the principal cities of the kingdom, which paralyzed commerce and industry, caused the king to dismiss Laffitte and his colleagues and intrust the formation of a new ministry to Casimir Périer, March 11, 1831. In this cabinet, which was presided over by Périer as

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minister of the interior, the principal portfolios—those of justice, foreign affairs, war and finance—were confided to Barthe, Sebastiani, Soult and Baron Louis. Périer laid before the chambers a statement of the policy he intended to pursue; demanded a vote of confidence for the purpose of enabling him to pass the provisional clauses of the budget, and with their concurrence took energetic measures for the reëstablishment of equilibrium in the finances and peace in the streets. The chamber was dissolved on April 30 and the electoral colleges convoked for the following month of July.

The foreign policy of the government at this period as enunciated by Périer was strictly one of non-intervention, based on the principle that foreigners have no right to interfere by force in a nation's internal affairs. This policy, which was also that of the king, was followed with firmness to central Italy after the failure of the insurrection, when French diplomacy, adding its efforts to those of the other powers, obtained from the new Pope, Gregory XVI., a formal engagement to introduce into his states many necessary reforms which had been long ardently desired, and persuaded the Austrian government to withdraw its troops from Italian territory. It was necessary, however, to have recourse to arms in Portugal, where the usurper Don Miguel had ill-treated French subjects. All satisfaction having been refused to the French consul, Admiral Roussin, under the fire of the Portuguese cannon, forced the mouth of the Tagus, destroyed the batteries of the forts, and by this brilliant feat obtained for the French arms a complete reparation for their reverses.

The great question pending between Holland and Belgium kept a portion of western Europe in continual disquiet. Belgium, according to the decision of the conference, surrendered to Holland a portion of Limburg and Luxemburg, which was an hereditary possession of the House of Nassau, and which formed, morever, a portion of the Germanic confederation, and had taken on itself half the national debt of the previously united countries, on which terms its independence was recognized. The crown of Belgium was first offered to the Duke of Nemours, the second son of Louis Philip, but as his father declined to allow him to accept it, the Belgians elected as their king Leopold, Prince of Coburg, who had been heir-presumptive to the English throne. The marriage of that monarch in the course of the following year with the eldest daughter of the

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King of the French doubly strengthened the alliance between France and Belgium.

Leopold had scarcely accepted the crown when King William, refusing to acknowledge the armistice, marched upon Louvain. Leopold in this extremity demanded the aid of France, and Marshal Gérard immediately entered Belgium at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, before whom the Dutch army fell back without fighting. Belgium was thus a second time saved by France, and three months later, on November 15, a treaty called the "Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles," regulating in a definite and irrevocable manner the separation of the two kingdoms, was signed by Belgium, and the conference guaranteed to the King of the Belgians the execution of its clauses. At the same time France obtained from the four other great powers the demolition of the fortresses of Menin, Ath, Philipville, Mons and Marienburg, maintained since 1815 as a barrier against France. The treaty, however, was not accepted by the King of Holland, whose troops occupied Antwerp, and peace was not yet reëstablished.

The legislative session had been open in Paris from the commencement of hostilities. The chamber passed, among other financial laws, one which fixed the civil list for the reign at twelve millions, an amount less by more than one-half than that of the previous civil list. But the chief business of the session was the revision of the article of the charter relating to the peerage, which was changed from an hereditary one into one for life, and although the crown preserved the right of nominating its members, it could only select them from certain classes.

The chamber had sat for some weeks only when great excitement was produced throughout France by the fall of Warsaw. A general cry in favor of assisting her arose in Paris, and the public wish became manifested in noisy demonstrations which soon became seditious and which had to be suppressed by force. The agitation produced by the affairs of Poland was not calmed when a formidable insurrection broke out in Lyons, caused by a great depression in the silk trade, which threw eighty thousand operatives out of work and deprived them of the means of subsistence. The insurrection was suppressed by force, but no measures were taken by the government to relieve the suffering workmen and their families.

Although the suppression of the revolt in Lyons tended to strengthen the ministry, numerous conspiracies were now set on

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foot in Paris for the restoration of the republic, the empire and the eldest branch of the Bourbons, but the energy of the government enabled it to triumph over all these plots, and its attention was speedily called to foreign affairs in respect to Italy.

The promises exacted from the Pontifical government had not been kept, and no reform had been made in an administration which was arbitrary, oppressive and absolute. The irritated people again rose in the Pontifical states, and the Austrians, having been called to his aid by Gregory XVI., took possession of Bologna. The French government, indignant at finding its intervention despised and the most formal engagements ignored, resolved to enforce by arms in central Italy the principle of non-intervention. A naval division carrying troops, under the command of Colonel Combes, was ordered to proceed to and take possession of Ancona. This order was rapidly executed, and on February 22 the city of Ancona, with its citadel, was in the hands of the French.

By this bold act of aggression Casimir Périer provoked not only the anger of the court of Rome, but the loud remonstrances of the other European powers. The occupation of Ancona, however, was popular in France. The chambers approved the act of the minister, and the bitter complaints made against the government abroad strengthened it at home. The Vendee was at this time the scene of sanguinary disturbances, and in Marseilles an attempt at insurrection, instigated by the legitimists, who were agitating in the south for the purpose of raising the Duke of Bordeaux to the throne, had been suppressed (April, 1832), when the cholera appeared in Paris, where it made great ravages. It carried off Casimir Périer in May, 1832, and to all the private causes for mourning there was thus added a great public one. The legislative session, which closed a few days before his death, left France in a precarious and disturbed state, but at least inspired with the salutary conviction that a general war might be avoided, and that the demon of civil war, revolt and anarchy was not invincible.

The death of Casimir Périer altered but very slightly the composition of the cabinet, in which Montalivet, who gave up the portfolio of public instruction to Gérard, became minister of the interior. The situation of the country was serious; and its perils, as well as the faults which had been committed, were pointed out with much bitterness in a document celebrated under the name of the *compte-rendu,* which was signed by the deputies of the opposi-

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tion. What was true in this document was misconstructed and did not bear fruit, and what was false and dangerous in it did much harm. The *compte-rendu* inflamed the popular passions to the highest point, and hastened, perhaps, the explosion of a republican insurrection which placed the monarchy in the greatest peril.

After the death of Casimir Périer hope returned to the parties which had been held in check by his vigorous hand. They became eager to try their strength once more; and they found an opportunity of doing so at the funeral ceremony of General Lamarque, whose obsequies attracted, on June 5, 1832, an immense concourse of persons, most of whom came armed. An insurrection suddenly burst forth to the cries of "Down with Louis Philip!" "Long live the republic!" and it was not until after a severe struggle, which lasted till the evening of June 6, that it was suppressed.

At this time civil war burst forth in the west, excited by the presence of the Duchess of Berry. This was speedily repressed by force and the duchess herself was betrayed at Nantes and imprisoned in the citadel of Blaye, where she gave birth to a child. On this her marriage with Luchesi Palli, a Neapolitan marquis, was made public, and the duchess was liberated as being no longer worth detention. To all these causes of agitation and alarm were added great anxiety with respect to the opposition made by the King of the Netherlands to the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles. It was proposed to deprive the Dutch of the citadel of Antwerp and some fortresses which were still occupied by their troops, and France and England agreed to act in concert in this measure, and overcome the king's resistance by force.

In the presence of so many perils the new monarchy had more than ever need of the strength derived from unity of opinion among the moderate men of all parties, and the recognized necessity of this led to the formation of the ministry of October, 1832, in which, under Marshal Soult as the nominal head, the most eminent of the doctrinaires, Broglie and Guizot, were united with some very important members of the left center, Thiers, Barthe, and Humann. The new ministry pursued the same policy as Casimir Périer, and the particular characteristic of their administration was a steady resistance made to the legitimist party on the one hand and the revolutionary demagogues on the other.

The foreign policy of the ministry was wanting neither in force

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nor dignity. The government everywhere showed itself, in a just and moderate manner, favorable to the constitutional cause, while it avoided putting the peace of Europe in peril, and with this object strengthened its alliance with England. In accordance with the arrangement already entered into with that power, a French army entered Belgium and laid siege to Antwerp, which capitulated in December, 1832, and was handed over to the Belgian government. In Spain the government promised assistance, if necessary, to Maria Christina, the widow of the late King Ferdinand VII., in defense of the rights of the Infanta Isabella, then two years old, against Don Carlos, her uncle and rival to the throne, and in Portugal lent support to the cause of the young Queen Donna Maria against her uncle Don Miguel, by participating in a treaty with England, Spain, and Portugal, by which the Regent of Portugal and the Queen-Regent of Spain undertook to unite their efforts for the expulsion of Don Carlos and Don Miguel. The King of Great Britain and the King of the French promised to assist towards this end in a defined and limited manner. Such was the famous Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, which was signed in April, 1834, between the four constitutional courts of the west.

In the East, Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, who had revolted against his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, had occupied the whole of Syria and defeated the Turkish troops at Konieh. The sultan appealed to Russia for aid, but France and England induced Ibrahim to desist from further attacks on Turkey, in consideration of the annexation of Syria to Egypt. After the withdrawal of the Russian fleet, which had been sent into the Bosphorus, it became known that a secret treaty had been concluded at Unkiar-Skelessi (July, 1833), between the Ottoman Porte and Russia, by which the Sultan undertook, in return for the Czar's perpetual protection, to close the Dardanelles against all foreign ships of war. England and France vehemently protested against this treaty, and being supported by Austria, forced the Czar to refrain from availing himself of the advantages exacted by the convention from the weakness of the Sultan.

The cabinet of October 11, 1833, supported by a majority in each of the two chambers, procured the adoption of some useful and important laws during the years 1833 and 1834. The finances were restored to a regular state and an excellent law was introduced by Guizot and passed, providing for primary instruction for

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children in every commune of France; but as this at first slightly increased the communal taxes, the poor country population looked upon it rather as a new charge than a decided benefit. The working classes still suffered from the disorder in industrial and commercial affairs caused by the revolution in 1830, and their discontent with the existing state of affairs was materially increased and sustained by the action of the secret societies, which were for the most part born of the revolution of 1830. The chief of these was the Society of the Rights of Man, whose chief aim was the establishment of the republic of 1792. These societies were closely connected with editorial committees of the democratic journals, against which the government brought a multitude of actions, in which it was not always successful; and they seemed to derive an increased boldness, as well from the judgments which condemned their conductors as from those which acquitted them.

The popular passions were influenced by the expressions of hatred and fury of parties, not only in the journals, but also in a multitude of cynical pamphlets, which were cried in the public streets and distributed by tens of thousands under the protection of the law. It was necessary to modify the existing state of the law on this point, and the chambers passed a law which submitted the profession of crier and seller of writings on the public ways to the surveillance of the municipal authorities. The government also submitted to the chambers another preventive law, which forbade the existence of any association for religious, political, or other purposes, unless sanctioned by a government license, which was always revocable. This law could not touch secret societies, while it overstepped its object by depriving peaceable citizens of natural and vital liberty and seriously attacked the liberty of worship granted by the charter. Having been adopted on March 25 by the deputies, it passed the chamber of peers on April 9, 1834. But during this short interval an unexpected vote of the deputies had led to important modifications in the composition of the cabinet, without altering either its tendency or course of action. This vote was caused by the presentation of a proposal for the payment of an indemnity demanded by the United States for American vessels captured during the empire, and which had been fixed in 1831 at twenty-five millions by a treaty executed between France and America. A portion of the opposition, nevertheless, denounced the proposal as an act of weakness, and it was rejected by a majority

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1834

of eight. De Broglie, the minister for foreign affairs, would not submit to this rebuff, and resigned his portfolio. He was succeeded by Admiral Rigny; Thiers, while retaining the portfolio of public works, became minister of the interior; Duchâtel had the portfolio of trade; and Persil replaced Barthe as minister of justice.

Everything now conspired to bring about a final struggle with the republicans, who were indignant at the indefinite and fatal adjournment of many popular measures which had been promised in principle by the charter of 1830, and at the neglect of many others which had been extolled by the men now in power. Imbued as they were with the principle that the sovereignty properly resided in the people, they regarded the new power as an usurped power which the people had not been called upon to sanction. The struggle commenced in 1834 in the departments. Lyons and many other cities, such as Saint Etienne, Clermont, Ferand, Vienne, Châlons, Artois, Luneville, Grenoble, and Marseilles, were almost simultaneously the theaters of insurrections or serious disturbances. In every direction the branches of the secret societies gave the signal for revolution, calling all the enemies of the government to arms. In Lyons a reduction in the wages of the workmen, made by some of the master-manufacturers, caused a strike, and the arrest of the ringleaders emboldened the republicans to make an attempt to secure the city. Barricades were erected and it was only after a struggle which lasted for five days that the revolt was quelled. It had been vanquished, indeed, in all the departments, when it appeared in Paris, where it had already lost its principal leaders. On April 13 the signal was given for the attack, and the republicans opened fire on the military. The conflict, which was intrepidly maintained by the national guard and the troops of the line, who were brigaded together under the orders of Marshal Lobau, lasted two days, and on April 14 the insurrection was put down in Paris. Many prisoners had been made in all the cities in which it had burst forth, and, as their guilty attempts all referred to one vast conspiracy, their trial was referred to the court of peers. To prevent the recurrence of similar attempts the government presented to the chambers the projects of two laws, which were passed in the following session, one of which increased the strength of the army, while the other prohibited the possession of arms and munitions of war. A few days afterwards the session was brought to a close, and the chamber of deputies was dissolved. The government fixed

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June 21 for the general election, which resulted in the return of but few openly-declared republicans, while twenty legitimists, including Berryer, were sent to the new chamber, and the ranks of the conservative party were considerably augmented in point of number, but weakened through the want of that unanimity of opinion which had hitherto prevailed among the members of this party.

The state of Algeria gave rise, immediately after the elections of 1834, to a fresh ministerial modification, the real cause of which was the want of a good understanding between Marshal Soult, the president of the council, and its most influential and eloquent members, Guizot and Thiers. The entirely military nature of the government of the French possessions in Africa, which was obstinately defended by Marshal Soult, the minister of war and president of the cabinet, had given rise to numerous abuses, and in the eyes of many the moment seemed to have come when it ought to be replaced by a civil administration. This opinion was that of Thiers and Guizot, as well as of the majority of the members of the council. The marshal, persisting in his views, tendered his resignation July 18, 1834. The king accepted it and appointed as his successor Marshal Gérard, one of the most eminent members of a body in the chamber which now began to be known as the "Third Party," and which was composed of conservatives who thought the policy advocated by the party of resistance was too irritating and dangerous to be persisted in, and, while they were averse to the opinions expressed by the party of progress, thought it was time to initiate conciliatory measures and endeavor to effect a compromise between the ardent and irreconcilable views and desires of the other parties. The elections of 1834 raised the numerical state of the third party to eighty deputies.

Marshal Gérard thought that the time had come for the declaration of a general amnesty. He had always expressed a wish that it might be granted and, now that he had become the head of the cabinet, he insisted upon obtaining it, being in this supported by the third party, but opposed by the majority in the council and the two chambers. The marshal's wish, in fact, appeared to be premature, for the two thousand accused persons who had been taken with arms in their hands, relying on their numbers and encouraged from without, for the most part protested in advance against any pardon, and defied the government to try them. Under these cir-

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cumstances an amnesty was impossible, and the king refused it. This refusal caused the retirement of Marshal Gérard, which was speedily followed by the resignation of almost the whole cabinet. The long and anxious crisis that followed lasted eight months, during which we find a ministry of three days' duration, under the presidency of the Duke of Bassano, and then the old cabinet, reconstructed under the Duke of Trevisa, which lasted three months. At length on March 12, 1835, the policy of October 12 still prevailing, the Duke of Broglie accepted the presidency of the council and was joined by Thiers and Guizot.

The persons inculpated in the great trial now to be carried on before the court of peers, numbering about two thousand, were divided into classes, according to the cities in which the insurrection had broken out. With respect to the greater number it was declared that there was no evidence against them, and they were set at liberty. The court summoned before it a hundred and sixty-four accused persons, only forty-three of whom were contumacious. It was continually interrupted by the violence of the accused, encouraged by the journals of the opposition and the sympathy openly expressed of many members of the extreme left in the chamber of deputies. Twenty-eight of the principal prisoners contrived to escape. Of the remainder a hundred and six accused persons, including many who were tried in their absence, were found guilty and sentenced to various punishments, the severest of which was transportation. The court of peers displayed, in the conduct of this difficult matter, as much moderation as courage and was really the rampart of threatened society. The trials lasted nine months, and long before their conclusion public attention was diverted from it by an attempt to assassinate the king on July 28, 1835, when on his way to hold a review of the national guards. The royal cortége had already arrived as far as the boulevard of the Temple when suddenly a jet of flame, followed by a loud report, issued from a neighboring house. On every side of the king there arose frightful cries. The monarch and his sons were spared, but the ground around them was covered with killed and wounded. Forty persons were struck and eighteen mortally injured, Marshal Mortier, General Vérigny, two colonels, several national guards and a young girl being among the latter. A ball had grazed the king's forehead, another had penetrated the coat of the Duke of Broglie and five generals were among the wounded. The instrument of

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the crime was an infernal machine, armed with twenty-five barrels, directed toward the boulevard, and had been invented by a Corsican named Fieschi, the principal author of the plot. He was seized, together with his accomplices, Marcy and Pepin, and tried by the court of peers. All three were condemned to death and died upon the scaffold.

A few days after the solemn funeral of the victims the chambers were convoked and the keeper of the seals presented to the deputies the drafts of three laws relating to the court of assizes, to juries, and to the press. These laws were all intended to protect the king, his family and the new monarchy against the hatred and fury of their enemies, and some of their clauses tended directly to this end. They abridged the proceedings before the courts of assize, gave greater independence to juries by means of the introduction of the system of secret voting, prohibited the journals from making any attack upon the king and the members of his family, or the principle even of the established government, and increased the responsibility of the conductors of them. But to these measures, which circumstances rendered reasonable, the government had added others, which diminished in the courts of assize the chance of acquittal hitherto possessed by the accused, demanded enormous securities from the journals, subjected them to exorbitant fines, and finally, in certain cases, in direct opposition to the sixty-ninth article of the charter, removed the consideration of crimes of the press from juries by enabling the government at its will to declare them to be outrages against the crown, and thus cause them to be tried by the court of peers. In spite of a serious opposition, led in the chamber of deputies by Royer-Collard, who had kept silence for many years, and by Villemain and Montalembert in the chamber of peers, the projects were adopted and converted into laws, which have remained famous under the name of the "Laws of September." The effect of these laws, which intimated an intention on the part of the government to persevere in a course of severity, strengthened the links that connected the sections of the opposition and increased the want of harmony among the conservatives, while at the same time they did not strengthen the ministry. France was, it is true, peaceable during the four months which followed their promulgation, but this calm was only the natural result of the depression felt by the republican party after so many defeats, and the cabinet was overthrown at the commencement of the fol-

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1836

lowing session (1836) on the question of the conversion of the *rentes,* which was carried in the chamber against the cabinet by a majority of two—a majority narrow enough, it is true, but sufficient to compel the resignation of ministers who had imprudently made the decision of the chamber on this serious subject a question as to their ministerial existence.

The principal fact which marked the formation of the new ministry was the separation of Thiers from Guizot and the doctrinaires. None of the latter had places in the cabinet formed by Thiers, in which he was himself minister for foreign affairs, and in which sat three members of the third party, Sauzet, Pelet (of La Lozère), and Passy, who were respectively ministers of justice, public instruction, and commerce. This ministry, which had declared that there could be no alteration in the conduct of the government and that it still adhered to the policy of resistance, lasted a still shorter time than the preceding one, and, among the small number of measures carried into execution during its administration, was one useful law for facilitating the construction of country roads and a praiseworthy sacrifice made to public morality of a revenue of about six millions by the suppression of gaming houses. The session was brought to a close in June, 1836, and a few days afterwards the king providentially escaped another attack made against his person. The author of this crime was a young fanatic named Alibaud, who, being tried and condemned by the court of peers, lost his head upon the scaffold. Tranquillity now began to be reëstablished in the interior, but the political horizon was gloomy abroad. The last remains of the ancient independence of Poland perished with the republic of Cracow, which was occupied jointly by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, under the pretense of stifling and destroying a focus of political troubles.

Switzerland at this time appeared an asylum to the revolutionists, and Thiers, in compelling their expulsion, excited in Switzerland an unfortunate feeling of resentment against the French government. In Spain the horrors of civil war were added to the spectacle of anarchy and a demagogic revolution. Carlists and Christinos rivaled each other in fury and cruelty, and in July, 1836, the queen-mother invoked the clauses of the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance for the purpose of obtaining the aid of the powers who had signed it against Don Carlos. The only foreign auxiliaries of the constitutional cause at that time in the queen's

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armies consisted of a legion of about three thousand men of various nations, called the foreign legion, and a small body of English volunteers, under General Evans. King Louis Philip was reluctant to engage the French government in the sanguinary struggle which was then going on, but Thiers proposed that the Spanish government should recruit from the army of observation of the Pyrenees a sufficient number of volunteers to raise the foreign legion to ten thousand men, who were to be placed under the orders of a French general, and act in concert with the corps under General Evans. Louis Philip sanctioned this project, but before it was carried into execution a military insurrection burst forth, in the month of August in Spain, and the queen-regent was compelled to subscribe to the constitution of 1812, in which royalty was a mere phantom. In this new crisis Louis Philip wished the volunteers incorporated in the foreign legion to be dismissed, while Thiers insisted that they should be retained in the service, to be ready to act when order should be reëstablished. As his views were directly opposed by the king he resigned his portfolio. All his colleagues, with the exception of Montalivet, followed his example, and the ministry was dissolved.

The formation of a new ministry was now entrusted to Molé, under whom as minister for foreign affairs and president of the council, Guizot had the portfolio of public instruction, Gasparin that of the interior and Duchâtel that of finance. The existence of this cabinet was a very agitated one. The relations between France and Switzerland became embittered and the disturbed relations between the two countries precipitated probably the execution of a plot, the author of which was Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of the ex-king of Holland. This prince, who had been brought up in Switzerland at the castle of Arenberg by Queen Hortense, his mother, had associated himself in 1831, while still very young, with the disastrous enterprise of the Italian patriots, and since the death of the Duke of Reichstadt (Napoleon II.), which took place in 1832, he considered himself heir to his uncle's imperial throne, and did not doubt that he should some day sit on it. Deceived by the secret encouragement of various influential persons, he believed that France was ready to substitute an imperial government for that of July, and that he would only have to appear to secure a fortress and a few regiments, and to march to Paris to be saluted emperor by the whole of France. During the night of October 30

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the prince secretly entered Strassburg, gathered together his accomplices, and endeavored to raise all the troops and the inhabitants to the cry of "Long live Napoleon! Long live liberty!" The attempt, however, proved a failure, for the garrison and the inhabitants proved faithful to the king, and, after a short struggle, the prince and the principal conspirators were made prisoners. The latter were given over to the hands of justice, but Louis Napoleon, the author and whole soul of the plot, was sent to the United States.

The French arms at this period experienced a great disaster in Africa, where Marshal Clausel had recently succeeded Count of Erlon as governor-general of Algeria. The war was carried on with the utmost vigor during the whole of the old regency, and while Abd-el-Kader, the Emir Maskara, who was considered by the Arabs as the leader of the holy war, held the French troops in check in the province of Oran, they had to repulse in the east in the province of Bona the continual and murderous attacks of the bey of Constantine. The capture of this latter place was considered by Marshal Clausel as indispensable to the security as well as to the development of the French possessions in Africa, and he led an expedition against it consisting of eight thousand infantry, fifteen hundred horse, two batteries of howitzers and eight field pieces. An assault on the town failed, and the marshal was compelled to order a retreat, in which he lost one-third of his army.

The legislative session opened in December, 1836, under the painful impression caused by this reverse and a fresh attempt against the king's life. The address of the two chambers in reply to the speech from the throne had scarcely been voted when there arrived news of the strange result of the trial of the accomplices of Prince Louis Napoleon at Strassburg, who were acquitted on the pretext that the principal person accused had been withdrawn from his judges and the verdict of the jury. To this unexpected result the ministry replied by presenting several irritating laws increasing the power of the government against the subject; while at the same time, by an unfortunate coincidence, it demanded of the chambers a dowry for the Queen of the Belgians and an allowance for the Duke of Nemours.

The public mind was excited by all these projects, at which the opposition displayed both surprise and irritation, and the difficulties of the position were still further increased by the rejection of

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the law of disjunction for trying military prisoners apart from civilians implicated in the same crime, which the chamber of deputies threw out on March 9 by a majority of two. Molé perceived that the moment had come for moderating the rigorous system which had hitherto been in force. A ministerial crisis ensued, during which the king applied successively to Guizot and Thiers, inviting them to form a cabinet, but each of them had to give up the task. The king then returned to Molé, who, resolved to adopt a conciliatory policy, took four new colleagues, Barthe, Montalivet, Salvandy, Lacave-Laplagne, and they held respectively the portfolios of justice, of the interior, of public instruction, and of finance.

Thus was formed the ministry of April 15, 1837, under the presidency of Molé, a cabinet which did not reckon among its members any of the great orators of the elective chamber, although it was composed of capable and enlightened men, who were animated by a desire for the general welfare. The first acts of the new ministry tended to inaugurate a more conciliatory policy. The irritating projects recently presented to the chamber relative to a settlement on the Duke of Nemours, the punishment of persons who should fail to reveal conspiracies, and the substitution of solitary confinement for transportation, were withdrawn, and the king granted an almost general amnesty to persons accused of political offenses. No important change, however, was made in the general conduct either of home or foreign affairs. After the session the chamber of deputies was dissolved, and the month of October appointed for the general elections. The radical party concentrated all its forces for the electoral struggle which was about to commence, but all its efforts only resulted in the return of a few more Republican deputies. The third party also gained many new members, and the various parties in the chamber remained, in spite of the introduction of many fresh members, almost of the same respective strength as formerly. The ministry of Molé did not make much greater efforts than preceding ministries to carry out in a liberal spirit the promises of the charter, and it failed to pay any more attention than they had paid to the social questions, properly so called, which had for their especial object the amelioration of the condition of the working classes, and which now began to occupy public attention. Whatever reproaches, however, the ministry of Molé may have justly incurred, it must be acknowledged that the

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1837

period which elapsed from April 15, 1837, to its fall was a prosperous period, the most fruitful in useful laws in proportion to its duration, and the most tranquil of all the reign. The rise in the public funds now announced that public confidence, as well as the material and financial condition of the kingdom, was improving. The industry of the country had been immensely developed and the construction of some of the great French railroads commenced at this period.

France, in the meantime, maintained its rank and influence abroad. Ancona, indeed, was evacuated in December, 1838, before the accomplishment of the reform promised by the Roman government, but this evacuation only took place after the evacuation of the Pontifical territory by the Austrians themselves. The Dutch-Belgian question was finally settled at this period by the acquiescence of the King of the Netherlands in the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles. The cabinet displayed at first some weakness in its conduct with respect to Algeria. It committed the fault of ratifying the Treaty of Tafna, concluded between Abd-el-Kader and General Bugeaud, May, 1837, a convention by which the emir acknowledged indeed the sovereignty of France in Algeria, but by which also a considerable portion of the old territory occupied by the French troops was ceded to the Arabs. This unfortunate treaty, however, was atoned for by the brilliant success of a new expedition made by the French army against Constantine. The town was carried by assault October, 1837, and its possession extended and confirmed the power of France over all the tribes of that province. France had at this time just demands to make or offenses to punish in various countries of the new world. In Hayti, in the Argentine Republic, now tyrannized over by President Rosas, and in Mexico, and she everywhere made her power respected. The French navy in particular covered itself with glory in the expedition directed against Mexico by Admiral Baudin, who was valiantly seconded by the Prince of Joinville, the third son of the King of the French. This rapid campaign was terminated by the attack on and capture of the Fort Saint Jean d'Ulloa, the principal defense of Vera Cruz. That place capitulated and the victory obtained by the French squadron was subsequently followed by a treaty, the conditions of which were dictated by France.

Louis Philip was at this time at the height of his greatness. He celebrated at Fountainebleau the marriage fêtes of his eldest

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son, the Duke of Orleans, who espoused the Princess Helen of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the rare qualities of whose mind and heart rendered her worthy of the throne. The same year witnessed the splendid inauguration of the historical galleries of Versailles. Fortune continued to smile upon him; a grandson was born to him, and no mourning had yet fallen upon his brilliant family; no somber cloud, in spite of the existence in the country of so much implacable hatred, hung between the king and his people.

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Chapter XXV

GUIZOT'S MINISTRY AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1848
1838-1848

ALTHOUGH Molé had found it necessary in the reconstruction of his cabinet to exclude Guizot from any office in it, it was on the members of the two centers, who were more particularly under the influence of Guizot and Thiers, that the president of the council found himself forced to rely. But the motive spirit of the government no longer came from them, and appeared, too openly, to emanate beyond the walls of the chambers from the royal will, which was obeyed by the officers of the crown and the crowd of functionaries who sat on the conservative benches. The leaders of the old majority, although far from satisfied with the secondary position in which they were placed, appeared at first to be resigned to it, and the ministry held power so long as they afforded it their support. They became weary, at length, of this state of affairs, and being too weak to govern by themselves, formed a league against the cabinet with the third party and their old adversaries of the moderate left. The struggle openly commenced in the journals in the interest of the now united parties. Duvergier de Hauranne, a zealous spokesman of the doctrinaire party, accused the administration of Molé in the *Revue française* of incapacity and weakness, while the conservative journals, with the exception of the *Presse* and the *Débats,* rivaled the violence, in this intestine war, of the papers most hostile to the monarchy. It was imputed as a crime to the government that it had abandoned the foreign policy of 1830, and sacrificed to the preservation of peace the interests and dignity of France in Italy, Switzerland and Belgium, and the alleged encroachments of the crown in the conduct of affairs were loudly denounced. From the very commencement of the session the virulent attacks of the press were reproduced in the debates in the two chambers on the discussion of the address to the king, and were almost entirely concentrated on these two chief points: the inefficiency or cowardice of the cabinet in its relations with the crown, its bad management of foreign affairs, its forgetfulness of

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French interests and of the liberal cause in Italy, where Ancona had been evacuated without any guarantee, and in Belgium, which had been compelled to sacrifice two provinces; and finally, the abuse of the name of France in Switzerland, where the government had offended the diet by forcing upon it in most imperious and insulting terms the expulsion of Prince Louis Napoleon, who had returned thither after the failure of his enterprise at Strassburg. The struggle was most violent in the chamber of deputies, which appointed to draw up the address to the king a committee chiefly consisting of members of the lately united parties. The latter drew up the address in terms very hostile to the ministry, whose responsibility it declared not to be sufficiently genuine, and its language was somewhat insulting to the king himself, whom it invited, in an indirect manner and with a show of respect, to confine himself, with the other powers of the state, within constitutional limits. Molé, with the assistance of Salvandy, Marthe and Montalivet, the ministers of public instruction, justice and the interior, succeeded in procuring some modification of the hostile paragraphs of the address drawn up by the committee, but he could only obtain a majority of eight votes in favor of the modification, and as this majority did not appear to him sufficiently strong to enable him to carry on the government, he procured from the king the dissolution of the chambers and appealed to the country by means of a general election.

The electoral struggle now descended from the high ground of the general interests to angry and personal debates between the members of the old conservative party. The coalition formed as many managing committees as there were political parties within it, and these committees were agreed to give the preference to the candidates of the most extreme opposition over those of the ministry. The cabinet, driven to bay, made a supreme effort, employed without stint against its adversaries all the dangerous weapons which centralization placed in its hands and made use of its whole administrative strength to influence the elections. But it was no longer in a position in which it was capable of controlling them. The consequence was that Molé was vanquished by numbers, although the public opinion of his talents was considerably raised. He sent in his resignation, and it was accepted. The weakness of the three principal leaders of the coalition, after a doubtful victory, showed the rashness of their enterprise. Incapable of uniting for the pur-

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1839

pose of governing, they were severally powerless to govern alone. By none of the numerous combinations attempted by the king could Guizot, Thiers and Odillon Barrot be so associated as to give to each that share of influence or authority which he had a right to claim. They all failed, one after the other, and as it was found absolutely impossible to form at this juncture a durable administration, recourse was had to an intermediate or transition cabinet, which died only a few weeks after its creation, without leaving any trace. In proportion as the friends of the constitutional monarchy became discouraged, the hopes of the demagogues became raised, and from all this chaos there resulted, on May 12, 1839, a furious riot, which was set on foot by the members of the secret Society of the Seasons, which advocated the equal division of property and the abolition of all laws which guaranteed its possession. The principal leaders of the Society of the Seasons were Blanqui, Barbés and Martin Bernard, and these men, forced to act with rash premeditation by those whose hopes they had cherished, ordered a general rising. The insurgents hoisted the red flag and surprised the Hôtel de Ville and several other important positions. The national guards and the regular troops, however, repressed the outbreak and order was speedily reëstablished.

This audacious attempt hastened the conclusion of the ministerial crisis, and on the very day on which the insurrection burst forth a ministry consisting of members of the two centers was formed under the presidency of Marshal Soult. The principal leaders of the coalition had no share in the new cabinet, which lasted but nine months, while its short career was marked by few incidents, the principal one being the trial of the insurgents of May 12 before the court of peers. Sentence of death was passed on Barbès and Blanqui, but the king commuted this punishment, against the advice of his ministers, into that of solitary confinement. Some useful laws were passed under the auspices of this ministry for the better organization of the staff of the army, the improvement of the ports, and the increase of the strength of the navy. The chambers also discussed important laws relating to literary property, railroads and parliamentary reform, which were incessantly adjourned and became every day more desirable. To turn to foreign affairs, the government made peace with Mexico, from which country it obtained a war indemnity, and hostilities continued in La Plata without any decisive result. In spite of the devastating incur-

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sions of Abd-el-Kader in the plain of the Métidja, French dominion in Algeria made peaceful progress. The cabinet appeared to have gained the support of a strong majority when it struck against an unforeseen rock on the occasion of the marriage of the Duke of Nemours. A draft of a law, the object of which was to settle on the prince an annual income of five hundred thousand francs, and to secure to his wife, in case she should survive him, an annuity of three hundred thousand francs, was presented to the deputies and rejected, without discussion. This defeat led to the fall of the cabinet, and all the ministers gave in their resignation (February, 1840).

The moment appeared to have come for the formation of a new administration under Thiers, who accepted the portfolio of foreign affairs, and was entrusted with the formation of a new ministry. He selected his colleagues from the left center. Guizot, who had lately become the French ambassador in London, promised the cabinet the support of himself and his friends, on condition that Thiers would resign any idea of electoral reform or of the dissolution of the chamber. The natural tendencies of the new ministers led them towards the left, while the most imperious necessity forced them to be leagued with the right, and the result was that the cabinet was driven into a state of utter inertness. One of the first acts of Thiers was to present a law the object of which was the transfer from St. Helena to France of Napoleon's remains, and as the English government did not offer any obstacle to the accomplishment of this great national act, the remains of the emperor were brought to Paris in December, 1840, in the midst of an immense concourse of people, and deposited with great pomp at the Hôtel des Invalides. Three months after the passing of this law, Prince Louis Napoleon made a fresh attempt to gain possession of the throne, which he considered to be his by inheritance, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, and was again unsuccessful. The prince, now once more a prisoner, was on this occasion tried by the court of peers, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and shut up in the fortress of Ham.

In Spain, during this year the queen regent, Maria Christina, was forced to abdicate, October 10, and fled to France, while a new government was established in Madrid, under the presidency of General Espartero, Duke of Vittoria, who was soon afterwards himself proclaimed regent of the kingdom. In the East hostilities had

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again broken out between the sultan and his powerful vassal, Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. Ibrahim, Mehemet's son, having crossed the Euphrates, gained in Syria the victory of Nezib, June 24, 1839. The Turkish army was routed and a few days afterwards the whole of the sultan's fleet surrendered to the Egyptians. The sultan now had neither ships nor troops, and his whole empire appeared to be on the eve of dissolution, when French diplomacy again checked Ibrahim's victorious march. England, Russia, Prussia and Austria having proposed to France that she should enter with them into a convention for the purpose of depriving Mehemet of Syria, which he had acquired by the valor of his arms, the French government refused, on the ground that, as it had stopped the advance of Ibrahim's army, it could not allow his kingdom to be curtailed. The four powers then negotiated without the concurrence of France, and entered into a treaty with the sultan, July 15, 1840, which limited Mehemet Ali to the hereditary possessions of Egypt, and ordered him to evacuate Syria within a certain time. This treaty left France in the state of isolation in which she found herself in 1830, and she was, with good reason, seriously offended. The French cabinet protested and made formidable preparations for war, while, pending the assembly of the chambers, which were convoked for October, royal ordinances created a number of fresh regiments and decreed that Paris should be fortified by a continuous wall and a series of detached forts.

In the meantime, the period fixed for the evacuation of Syria by Mehemet having elapsed without Ibrahim's withdrawal, an English squadron bombarded Beyrout and the dethronement of Mehemet Ali was declared by the sultan. Upon this the French government immediately declared that any attempt to deprive the Pasha of Egypt would be regarded by it as a signal for war, and the fleet was ordered to prepare for sailing. The session opened in the midst of these serious events and the excitement caused by a fresh attempt on the king's life. The cabinet had inserted in the speech to be delivered by the king from the throne some expressions which were a species of threat or defiance to Europe, but Louis Philip thought it better to assume a less provoking attitude in respect to the other powers. He refused to use the language suggested to him by his ministers and recalled his fleet, which was already sailing for Syria, upon which the cabinet resigned. The king accepted the resignation of Thiers and his colleagues, and transferred the port-

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folio of foreign affairs to Guizot, whom he requested to form a new ministry, in concert with Marshal Soult, who had the portfolio of war, and became president of the council. Guizot was its most influential member. He ultimately became its president and the chief power did not leave his hands until the end of the reign. One of the first acts of the new ministry, whose members were unanimous in supporting a peace policy abroad, and in offering an obstinate resistance to all plans of reform at home, was to bring France once more into combined action with the European powers, by signing with them and Turkey the Treaty of July 13, 1841, which reëstablished Mehemet Ali in the hereditary possession of Egypt, without restoring to him Syria, and which closed against the fleets of all nations the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The grand project relative to the fortifications was resumed by the cabinet in the session of 1841 and sanctioned by the chambers, but owing to the first expenses caused by these immense works and the increase of the army, the charges in the budget were enormously increased, and it was found necessary to negotiate at various periods a loan representing a capital of four hundred and fifty millions. The ministry neglected or rejected all projects relative to the internal policy of the kingdom, but it presented in this and the following session (1841-1842) several useful laws respecting literary property, judicial sales, and the great lines of railroads. The cabinet failed, however, to calm the spirit of agitation. Many important cities, such as Lille, Clermont, Mâcon and Toulouse were the scenes of serious disorders, and publications of great virulence provoked, during two years, numerous prosecutions of the editors of journals and writers of pamphlets. An odious attempt to assassinate one of the king's sons, the Duke of Aumale, on his return from an expedition in Algeria, failed in its object, and gave rise to a criminal prosecution before the chamber of peers, which resulted in the condemnation of the would-be assassin and his accomplices. The elective chamber was dissolved in June, 1842, and the general elections, greatly influenced by the cabinet, returned a new chamber, which consisted of almost precisely the same elements as the preceding. This year was marked by a circumstance as fatal as unforeseen. The Duke of Orleans, prince royal, being run away with by his horses, sprang out of his carriage, had his head fractured in the fall, and expired a few hours afterwards. The sudden death of this prince was a fatal blow to the dynasty of Orleans, already beaten by so many

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storms. He left behind him two very young children, the Count of Paris and the Duke of Chartres, and in anticipation of a minority, the chambers decided, in concert with the government, that in case the sovereign should be a minor the regency should belong to his nearest relation in the paternal line, and the royal majority was fixed at eighteen years.

Few years have been so sterile in legislative measures of great interest as the year 1843, during which Louis Philip received at the château d'Eu a friendly visit from the young Queen of England, who had succeeded her uncle, William IV., in 1837, an event which was regarded as of good augury to the maintenance of amicable relations between the two countries.

The government at this time made many enemies among the clergy and the clerical party, as the ardent supporters of the Church of Rome were styled, by a law which was proposed to regulate free secondary education. It was proposed to allow anyone possessing a certificate of competency to open a school, after making a declaration that he did not belong to any religious society not legally authorized, the government exercising the right of inspection of schools established under these conditions. The proposed law exempted ecclesiastical schools or small seminaries from some of the conditions imposed on lay educational establishments. In the chamber of deputies the law was indefinitely adjourned.

A serious incident, brought about by some important men of the legitimist party, occupied the attention of the chamber at the commencement of the session. The hopes of this party had been revived after the death of the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke of Bordeaux, who had now assumed the title of the Count of Chambord, having visited London in 1843, became, at his residence in Belgrave Square, the object of an enthusiastic demonstration on the part of a crowd of legitimists, among whom were several deputies, who had hastened from France to pay homage to him whom they regarded and honored as the true heir to the crown of Charles X. The government thought it their duty to censure their conduct in a sentence of the speech from the throne at the commencement of the new session. This sentence excited an animated debate in the two chambers, and especially in the elective chamber, but the paragraph which, in the chamber's address to the king, censured the conduct of the inculpated deputies was adopted, and the latter immediately resigned their seats, but were reëlected. The new hopes of

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the legitimists, so openly manifested by this incident, aroused the apprehensions of the liberals and had something to do, probably, with the cold reception given by the latter to the law presented to the chamber on the subject of secondary instruction. On the other hand, the vehemence with which the great subject of freedom in the matter of education had been pleaded by many priests and laymen openly favorable to the Jesuits provoked an inevitable reaction against this society in the constitutional party, and rendered it extremely anxious respecting the neglect into which the laws relative to the Jesuits had been allowed to fall. In the following session, May, 1845, Thiers, who had become the leader of the opposition in the left center, demanded that all enactments in existence against the Jesuits should be put in force, and submitted a proposition that the chamber relied upon the government for the execution of the laws, and it was carried by an immense majority. Two months later, and while the same question was being discussed in the chamber of peers, Guizot cut short the discussion by declaring that the Pope himself had persuaded the Jesuits in France to conform to the laws of the kingdom.

The satisfaction thus given by the government to the opposition of the left was far from appeasing the irritation caused by the policy of the government at this period with regard to England on the subject of Tahiti, or the Society Islands, in the Pacific. Admiral Dupetit-Thouars had taken possession in 1842 in the name of France of the Marquises Islands, and he subsequently thought proper to establish the protectorate of France over the Society Islands, where the English and Protestant missionaries had long since exercised over Pomare, the Queen of Tahiti, and the principal native chiefs, a civilizing influence. The latter, at the instigation of the English missionaries, arose in defense of their national independence. The insurrection was promptly put down and Admiral Dupetit-Thouars took complete possession of these islands in the name of France, and hoisted there the French flag, in spite of the vehement remonstrances of a merchant named Pritchard, who was the English consul. The latter resigned his office, but continued his intrigues with the chiefs and endeavored to raise the nation. He was arrested and put into solitary confinement by the French authorities and ultimately sent back to England, where he demanded of France an indemnity for his commercial losses as well as for the treatment he had undergone.

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In the meantime, however, the French government had disavowed the conduct of its admiral and rehoisted its flag at Tahiti as simply that of a protecting power. As, moreover, the English press and the British Parliament reëchoed the complaints of the ex-consul, Pritchard, the French cabinet, while asserting that their officers had a right to expel him, yet decided that an indemnity was due to him. This concession on the part of the government aroused a violent storm against it, the whole of the opposition uniting in accusing it of sacrificing the honor of France to the English alliance. The question was reopened during the discussion of the address at the commencement of the following session, 1844-1845, and gave rise to the most stormy debates, the government only obtaining in the chamber of deputies on the subject of the indemnity to Pritchard a majority of eight votes. The general irritation, now much envenomed by political passion and national susceptibility, rendered impossible the maintenance of the right of search, which had been reciprocally exercised by virtue of old treaties by the navies of France and England for the abolition of the slave trade. The complaints which were raised in France on this occasion were so loud that the government did not venture to give the ratification so eagerly desired by England, to a new treaty negotiated with all the great powers, which provided for a greater extension of this right. The English cabinet had to give way in its turn. It abandoned the right of search, and a treaty negotiated on other bases, and less efficacious for the repression of the slave trade, was signed by the two powers on May 29, 1845.

The war in Algeria was warmly prosecuted in 1843-1844 by Marshal Bugeaud. The numerous Arab tribes raised in revolt by Abd-el-Kader were chastised, and made their submission, and the Duke of Aumale took the Smala, or camp, of the emir, Abd-el-Kader, who fled into Morocco, and persuaded the Emperor Muley-Abder-Rhaman to take up his cause. On this, a French fleet, under the orders of the Prince of Joinville, attacked Tangiers, and then took possession of the island of Mogador, and bombarded the city of that name, which was the central point of the Moroccan commerce. On the same day (August 14, 1844) Marshal Bugeaud totally defeated the army of Morocco on the banks of the Isly. This victory was followed in September by the Treaty of Tangiers, which gave to France all the satisfaction she demanded and put Abd-el-Kader out of the pale of the law in the empire of Morocco. This

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treaty was the subject of vehement attacks on the part of the opposition in the following session, and the satisfaction caused by the victory of Isly was lessened by the persistent refusal on the part of the government to make any real reforms. The legislative sessions of 1844 and 1845 were in this respect completely sterile. A few laws of general utility were passed, but almost all those proposed which bore the impress of a really liberal spirit were rejected, or at least deferred.

Various circumstances concurred to aggravate the serious aspect of affairs at the commencement of the following year. There was a state of almost famine in the country districts, and great disturbances had been caused in the industrial world by extravagant speculations in railroad property. To these causes of anxiety were added the discontent caused by the ever-increasing charges of the treasury and some reverses suffered by the French arms in Algeria, where Abd-el-Kader had excited a serious insurrection. The turbulent Kabyles were, however, held in check by General Lamoricière, who had replaced Marshal Bugeaud for a short time, and on the return of the latter to his government the insurgent tribes were completely reduced to submission. All these subjects united occupied public attention at the commencement of the new session, 1846, which was only remarkable for the formation of a powerful opposition under the leadership of Thiers and Odillon Barrot.

The most important law passed in this session gave the government an extraordinary credit of ninety-three millions for the purpose of increasing the strength of the navy, both in men and ships. Many projects of great political or social interest were voted by the one or the other chamber in the course of this session, but did not become law. The cabinet, absorbed in the difficult operation of consolidating its power, rejected or adjourned every proposal the adoption of which might have had the effect of weakening its majority in the next elective chamber. It was under these circumstances that the elections of 1846 took place.

The influence of the administrative power over the electoral body had never been more marked since 1830 than at the general elections of 1846, and owing to this the cabinet, in direct opposition to public opinion, unduly obtained a large majority in the election chamber. It happened, indeed, that in proportion as the cabinet became more unpopular in the country its majority became greater and greater in the elective chamber—a great danger

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1846

both for the state and the throne. In the midst of these serious internal affairs grave dissensions arose between France and England in consequence of the unfortunate affair known as the Spanish marriages. In Spain, in 1844, the queen-mother had been recalled, and in 1845 the Cortes had declared her daughter, Queen Isabella, of age. In 1846 the young queen married her cousin, Francis de Assise of Bourbon, while her sister, the Infanta Donna Luisa, espoused the Duke of Montpensier, the fifth son of the King of the French. The English government through Lord Aberdeen, in return for the promise of the King of France that the Duke of Montpensier should take no steps to procure his marriage with the Infanta Donna Luisa until the Queen of Spain should have a child, had engaged that no prince of the House of Coburg should become a suitor to Queen Isabella. Lord Palmerston, however, did not adhere to the engagement entered into by his predecessor, but sanctioned the candidature of the Prince of Coburg for the queen's hand. The King of the French then considered that he was relieved from his promise and authorized the simultaneous publication of the two marriages. On receiving this unexpected news the English cabinet denounced the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier as a direct violation of one of the clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht, which declared that the crowns of France and Spain should never rest on the same head. These accusations were evidently ill-founded, but nevertheless found an echo in the two French chambers, where it was said that the government, after having recently in the Pritchard affair sacrificed the honor of the country for the sake of remaining on cordial terms with England, had now sacrificed this alliance for the sake of mere family interests. This unfortunate misunderstanding between the two countries rendered the northern powers less apprehensive of offending the French government and led to the ruin of the last remnants of Polish nationality. At the close of the insurrection which led to the occupation of the city of Cracow by the three northern powers, the latter did what they had not hitherto ventured to do, and Austria annexed Cracow with the assent of Russia and Prussia. France and England protested against this proceeding, but separately and, by refusing to act in concert, protested in vain. The opposition made this circumstance a ground for redoubling its violence and the government was condemned on all sides for having isolated France in Europe by its errors, and for having been as imbecile in its man-

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agement of foreign as home affairs. In the meantime the necessity for certain reforms was so generally felt and the public feeling on the matter was so loudly expressed that Guizot himself at length, in a celebrated speech delivered at Lisieux after his reëlection, showed himself extremely favorable to a wisely progressive policy. After this France had reason to hope that the ministry would support, in 1847, the liberal measures and reforms acknowledged to be the most urgent. But it was not so, for this session surpassed the preceding in insignificance, and no law of any importance, political or social, was carried out.

The escape of Prince Napoleon from the fortress of Ham and two attempts against the king's life had recently caused fresh anxiety in the public mind, and the session opened in the midst of the general dismay caused by destructive inundations, a partial famine caused by bad harvests and a financial crisis. It was difficult, doubtless, under the pressure of the financial necessities of the moment to make any serious and immediate reforms in the taxation of the country, and the cabinet made this circumstance a pretext for rejecting all that were proposed. At the same time it refused to listen to all the other reforms, all the great measures which were considered urgent even by its own more enlightened supporters—an exhibition of obstinacy on the part of the French government which was so much the more astonishing because it was in strange contrast with the liberal movement which was at this time taking place in all the countries of Europe. Germany was again demanding the fulfillment of the promises made in 1813, and most of its states were engaged in establishing new constitutions. Holland had introduced great modifications into its own; Spain was attempting under its young queen to enter upon a constitutional and parliamentary course; in Italy the venerable Pius IX., who had been recently elevated to the Pontifical throne, was inaugurating a new era of liberty, after having commenced his reign by a general amnesty; similar reforms were being made in Piedmont by King Charles Albert, and Great Britain now began to reap the fruits of her great parliamentary reform. The general necessity for reform was felt even in the Turkish empire, and the Sultan Abdul-Medjid had of his own accord granted a charter to his subjects.

Louis Philip's government at this time followed the policy which had been fatal to that of the restoration by confounding in

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an almost equal condemnation all the opponents of the cabinet with the enemies of the monarchy, fearing that if it made concessions to the former it might be hurried by the latter into a revolutionary course. This perseverance in a policy of *status quo* at a time when Europe generally was in a state of movement and in the presence of numerous questions which urgently demanded solution—the dangerous obstinacy, against which not only a great portion of the conservative party protested, but even the principal organ of the government and the moral head of the government—at length led the disquieted and anxious nation to look for its cause in a quarter which was higher than the ministry. The protecting veil which the constitution had drawn around the crown had long been rent, and at no period had the sovereign been less shielded by the ministers than now.

The king was growing old and had attained that age at which a man's opinions become permanently fixed, while the remembrances of his early years return to his heart with increased force. The memories of Louis Philip kept him constantly in mind of the bloody episodes of the revolutionary period, and showed to him, as was also the case with Charles X., a virtuous but feeble king, led through one concession after another to the scaffold, his family slaughtered or in exile, and France ruined and twice invaded. Then he remarked that when he had received the crown he had calmed the tempest, reintroduced order and prosperity within the kingdom and maintained peace abroad. He remembered that France and all Europe had attributed these great results to his wisdom and to the inflexible resistance made by his government to factious attempts as well as to the exaggerated demands of parties, and he believed that it was now necessary to continue this policy, and to adhere to it irrevocably and constantly. As this prince nevertheless observed, under every circumstance, the strict letter of the constitution, the honor of having done so remains his in history, although it was powerless to preserve his throne against the course of events.

While the action of the government seemed thus paralyzed, as it were, within the country, it was also powerless abroad in consequence of its fatal dissension with England on the subject of the Spanish marriages. The two powers were, however, agreed in supporting in Portugal the throne of the young Queen Donna Maria, which had been shaken by the twofold insurrection of the Miguelists and the ultra-radical party. The French government, however,

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failed in its attempt to mediate between the contending parties in Switzerland, where the radicals, who had a majority in the diet assembled at Berne, suppressed by force of arms a league called the Sonderbund, which had been formed between the seven Catholic cantons for the purpose of preserving their cantonal authority against the usurpers of the federal power. A circumstance still more injurious to the influence of France had recently taken place in Italy. Astonished and disturbed by the liberal reforms of Pius IX. in the Papal states, and emboldened also by the rupture between England and France, Austria had entered the possessions of the Holy See for the purpose of preserving her Italian possessions from the contagion of liberalism. Her troops had entered Ferrara, in spite of the energetic protests of the cardinal legate, in August, 1847, and the occupation of that fortress by the Austrians had thus all the characteristics of an armed invasion. Irritated public opinion associated this fact with the deplorable act by which the republic of Cracow had been, in the course of the preceding year, annexed to Austria, with the consent of Russia and Prussia, and it bitterly reproached the cabinet with its abandonment of the liberal cause in Europe, with its ill will towards Italy and its weakness and powerlessness in its relations with Austria and the other great powers of Europe.

Such was the position of home and foreign affairs when, in consequence of the retirement of Marshal Soult, Guizot became president of the council, September, 1847. The opposition organized an agitation throughout France, and had recourse also to other means for rousing and agitating the people. To this end, for two months past, banquets had been organized in Paris and the principal towns in the kingdom, at which those who wished to strike the dynasty at its roots had unhappily mixed with many who desired, by reforming, to strengthen it. The prejudiced opinion of the public led them to receive and to credit the most absurd and often the most unfounded charges, and a fatal concurrence of circumstances during the year 1847 gave dangerous food to the popular ill will and irritation. Various inquiries, forced on the public outcry, revealed, in some of the offices under the ministers of war and marine, considerable frauds committed, to the great injury of the state, by subaltern agents of those in power. These revelations, though grave enough in themselves, proved but the prelude to still greater scandals. Two peers of France, Teste and Despans of Cubières, both of

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them formerly ministers, and till recently members of the cabinet, were accused, with their accomplices, and sent to trial, the former for receiving bribes in the exercise of his duties, the second for having facilitated the concession of a mine by means of corruption exercised on a minister of state. The court of peers did not shrink from their duty, and pronounced them both guilty. To these and other great scandals, among which may be mentioned the attempt at suicide by Teste, the suicide of Count Bresson, the French ambassador at Naples, and the frightful murder of the Duchess of Praslin by her husband, who subsequently poisoned himself, were then added great misfortunes. The perturbations brought into commercial affairs as the result of the troubles of the two preceding years, and still more the unbridled abuse of speculation and the fever of stockjobbing, had caused in all ranks numberless failures. In vain the gallantry of the army in Africa threw a last luster upon the reign; it had subdued the Kabyles and driven the Emir to his final retreat. Abd-el Kader surrendered to Lamoricière, thus brilliantly inaugurating the Duke of Aumale's government of Algeria. But at this epoch, as under Charles X., after the conquest of Algeria, the country showed itself but little touched by a glory of which some part belonged to an unpopular ministry, which, by holding on to power after the opinion of the country was against it, had inflamed, strengthened, and rallied against itself the entire opposition assembled at the numerous banquets which agitated France in the name of parliamentary and electoral reform. Such were the events preceding the legislative session of 1848, the last of the reign.

At the end of the year 1847 nothing was irrevocably lost. Matters, it is true, were pushed to an extreme, but the elasticity of constitutional institutions is great, and the throne of July, although tottering and threatened, might have still recovered itself, had not Guizot blindly persisted in his opposition to popular opinion in resisting the Electoral Law and the qualification for candidates for the chamber of deputies. Impotent to gain the public vote for himself, he disdained it, he braved it, and while the storm was threatening from every point of the political horizon, the cabinet presented itself boldly before the re-assembled chambers. It accelerated the tempest by inserting, at the commencement of the session, in the address to the throne, after some promises of progressive ameliorations, an imprudent phrase, by which the opposition consid-

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ered that all the opponents of the administration were accused of cherishing blind or guilty passions, and were stigmatized as enemies to the monarchy. The drawing up of the address in answer to this speech gave rise to a discussion in the two chambers, which was rendered solemn by the serious position of affairs. The principal interest of the debate in the chamber of peers was centered in the foreign policy of the cabinet, which was accused of having displayed, in the speech from the throne, too much deference for Austria, by remaining silent with respect to the reforms promised by Pope Pius IX. and some other of the Italian princes. Guizot replied to this reproach by pointing out the danger of exciting the revolutionary passions, already too much inflamed in Italy, where demagogism, rallied under Mazzini's flag, threatened, as usual, to compromise, by lamentable excesses, the reforms already effected or projected. These great questions were discussed with even more force and vehemence in the debate on the address which took place in the elective chamber. Many of the most eminent orators, including Lamartine, Odillon Barrot, and Thiers, denounced the cabinet to the country as guilty of having sacrificed to Austria the liberal cause in Poland, Italy, and Switzerland. Guizot had recourse, in his defense, to the principal arguments already produced in the chamber of peers, and produced proofs that, in respect to Poland, his wishes had been overruled by the force of circumstances, and that in Italy and Switzerland he had defended really liberal interests, but added that he could not blame Austria for opposing the rash and dangerous attempts of the revolutionary radicals. The ministry, however, displayed great weakness when it attempted to rebut the reproach of electoral corruption hurled against it by eminent orators on every bench of the opposition, and, among others, by Billault, who submitted the following amendment to the draft of the address: "We associate ourselves, sire, with the wishes of your majesty by demanding of your government that it should before all things exert itself to the utmost to develop the morality of the people, and no longer to enfeeble it by fatal examples." Billault then appealed to the conscience of the chamber, by showing that the electors sold their votes for offices, that the deputies looked to the ministers to reimburse them for the expenses of their election, and that the ministers, although, doubtless, honest themselves, governed by these detestable means. He also reproached Guizot and Duchâtel with having abandoned their principles on various occasions for the sake

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of retaining power; and in support of these accusations he enumerated a long series of facts which were already known, and the fatal consequences of which to the morality of the country he forcibly set forth.

A still more violent debate took place respecting the answer to that phrase of the speech from the throne, by which many peers and a hundred deputies, who had taken part in the banquets by which France had been agitated, considered themselves to be particularly attacked, and the legality of those banquets was at the same time discussed with extreme violence. The keeper of the seals, Hébert, in an eloquent and sensible speech enumerated the grounds on which the government would have the right to prevent such assemblies when they tended to disturb the public peace, and declared that it would not give way before any seditious manifestation. To this defiance Duvergier de Hauranne replied by another. He would not yield, he said, to the ukase of a minister, and he was ready to join all who, by some decided act of resistance, would prove that the rights of Frenchmen might not be destroyed by a mere decree of the police. This proof was to consist in the assembly of the principal deputies of the opposition at a reform banquet which had been already arranged to take place in the 12th arrondissement of Paris, and which had been interdicted by the authorities. This formidable defiance, which had the effect of transferring the debate from the floors of the chambers to the public thoroughfares, was followed by the vote of the address, in which the opposition had not succeeded in procuring a single amendment, or the insertion of any decided promise of reform on the part of the ministry. The day for the announced demonstration drew near.

The stormy debates on the address had caused the greatest excitement among the numerous classes of the population, which were already disturbed and inflamed by the speeches delivered at the seventy reform banquets which had taken place in the principal cities of the kingdom. The hope of obtaining the revenge so long postponed had returned to the republican and legitimist enemies of the dynasty, and the secret societies, the anarchists, and the political refugees, recruited by the demagogues, recovered their courage, silently armed themselves, and prepared for the final struggle with the monarchy. Intimidated, with too much reason, by these terrifying symptoms, the deputies of the dynastic opposition and the cabi-

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net itself hesitated to provoke a dangerous explosion. They agreed that the banquet demonstration should be reduced to a simple meeting, and such formal proceedings as would be sufficient to enable the legal authorities of the country to decide the question of the right of holding public meetings. The radical opposition which desired to struggle at any price would not rest contented with so peaceful an arrangement, and called upon the schools, the national guard, and all Paris, in fact, to take part in a decided, although pacific demonstration, which was announced on February 21 for the morrow in the radical journals, *The National* and *The Reform*.

On the unexpected appearance of this programme, Odillon Barrot and his friends of the dynastic opposition determined not to take part in the banquet. Being divided, however, between the honest sentiment which led them to abstain from what they thought might cause public misfortunes and a dread of losing their popularity by appearing to shrink from danger, and being at the same time controlled by their antecedents and a fatal position, they deposited in the bureau of the chamber a formal accusation against the cabinet, which, without proving of any advantage to themselves, added fresh fuel to the popular excitement. The dreaded revolution burst forth on the 22d of February, amid shouts of "Long live reform!" "Down with Guizot!"

Feeble at first, and uncertain, the insurrection appeared, on the first day, at several points at once: at the Champs Elysées, on the Place de la Concorde, and in certain suburbs, where barricades were erected and abandoned. The fire which was everywhere smoldering, was slow to burst forth, but being only timidly suppressed, it speedily grew fierce, and on the second day had involved all Paris. All hope, however, was not yet lost. The resources of the government were great, the garrison did its duty, and various regiments hastened to march upon the capital. But the national guard answered badly to the government summons, and the few weak battalions which took up arms appeared much more disposed to interfere between the regular troops and the insurgents than to oppose the latter. The adoption of this attitude by the national guard at length made the king resolve to yield to necessity, and on the evening of February 22 it became known that he had invited Molé to form a new cabinet. Paris now immediately illuminated, and this news was everywhere received with tremendous acclamations as a happy omen of conciliation and peace. But on this

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same evening a fatality caused everything to be lost. A battalion of infantry of the line, stationed in front of the foreign office, in the Boulevard des Capucines, fired without orders upon the mob which crowded the boulevard and the adjacent streets, and in an instant the ground was strewn with victims. At this sight the fury of the people was once more aroused to its utmost pitch. The fatal news flew from mouth to mouth; the suburbs arose; Paris became covered with an interminable network of barricades, and by the morning the quarter of the Tuileries was almost entirely covered with them. Before such perils at these Molé was powerless, and withdrew, while the court perceived that a vigorous and desperate resistance had become absolutely necessary. The victor of Isly, Marshal Bugeaud, was appointed before daybreak to the command of the troops, and every preparation was made for a bloody and decisive battle. In the meantime the king entrusted the conduct of affairs to the leaders of the parliamentary opposition, Thiers and Odillon Barrot, who, trusting too implicitly to their popularity, believed that they could appease the revolution by their mere words and presence. They put a stop to the firing of the troops, and recalled Bugeaud, who, with grief and rage, saw his sword broken in his hands. Distracted by contrary orders, the soldiers remained some time in a state of indecision and inaction, then abandoned the barricades to the insurgents, and to a great extent fraternized with them. After this the insurgents became innumerable, and advanced in a dense mass towards the Tuileries.

Louis Philip, at the instigation of the queen, mounted his horse and reviewed in the Carrousel several regiments and a few weak battalions of the national guards. The regular troops received him with cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" but the national guards replied with the cry of "Reform! reform!" the password of the revolutionists, and the discouraged monarch reëntered his palace. From this time the irresolution of the king, and all who possessed even a semblance of authority, became greater and greater, while the insurrection incessantly increased, filled all the approaches to the palace, knocked at its doors and was at the point of bursting through them. Louis Philip still deliberated. Beside him was the queen filled with inexpressible grief, but resigned. Around him were the princesses in tears, stupefied courtiers, mute generals, powerless and terrified ministers. The word abdication was uttered. Many voices repeated it, and urged the king to consent

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to it and to sign it. Louis Philip, apparently calm and emotionless, took his pen and wrote these words, "I abdicate in favor of the Count of Paris, my grandson, and I hope that he may be happier than I have been." After he had signed this act of abdication the king retired by the only means of exit which remained free, and the mob forthwith burst into the palace.

A woman clothed in mourning—the Duchess of Orleans—was the last to leave the Tuileries with her two children, and in this extremity many voices expressed a wish that the regency, which the law gave to the Duke of Nemours, could be conferred on the duchess. Courageous and resolved to brave death in the fulfillment of a great duty, she passed through the threatening crowd in order to present her son to the two chambers. She proceeded under the escort of the Duke of Nemours and the protection of a few friends to the chamber of deputies, where Dupin introduced her as the regent of the kingdom. When the duchess took a seat in front of the tribune with her brother-in-law Nemours and her two sons, Dupin and Odillon Barrot endeavored to procure such an enthusiastic reception for the new king by the deputies as had been accorded, after the revolution of July, to the Duke of Orleans. But the elective chamber, which did not represent the nation and public opinion, as it did in 1830, had no influence with the public and was also penetrated with a sense of its own weakness. Its place of assembly was violated, while it was actually sitting, by armed bands, and its president, Sauzet, himself abandoned it. Four deputies—Crémieux, Marie, Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine—demanded the nomination of a provisional government, the members of which were immediately pointed out with acclamations by the voices of the insurgents and those of a few deputies mingled together. Chambers, regency, royalty, all disappeared in the tempest, and on the following day the provisional government proclaimed the republic.

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Chapter XXVI

THE SECOND REPUBLIC. 1848-1852

AS soon as it was evident that there was no hope of establishing the Count of Paris on the throne of his grandfather, the Duchess of Orleans and her brothers-in-law, the Dukes of Nemours and of Montpensier, hastened to leave Paris and repaired to England with the ex-King and Queen of the French and took up their residence in Claremont, which was placed at their disposal by Leopold, King of the Belgians, to whom the palace then belonged. The principal members of the provisional government of February 24, 1848, were Dupont de l'Eure, president of the council, Lamartine, minister for foreign affairs, Crémieux, for justice, Ledru-Rollin, for the interior, Goudchaux, for finance, Arago, for naval affairs, Carnot, for public instruction, Bethmont, for commerce, Marie, for public works, and General Subervie, for war. Colonel Courtais was appointed commander of the national guard of Paris and Garnier-Pages mayor of that city, with control of the police; while General Cavaignac was made governor of Algeria in place of the Duke of Aumale. In addition to these the proclamations of the government were signed by Armand Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc and Albert, who, in that spirit of pride which is apt to ape humility, ostentatiously added *ouvrier* (artisan) to his signature; but these men held no higher office than that of secretaries to the government. The first act of the new government was the proclamation of the republic from the Hôtel de Ville on February 26. At the same time another proclamation was issued, declaring that monarchy was abolished forever in France, while measures were taken for the reorganization of the national guard and the relief of the working classes, among whom there was much distress at the time. A declaration was made to the effect that the government considered it its duty to provide work for all citizens who were able and willing to do it, and death for political offenses was abolished. April 9 was fixed on for the election of members of a national assembly, whose duty it would be to frame a new constitution

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for the country. It was to be composed of nine hundred members. Every Frenchman of twenty-one years of age was to be entitled to vote, if nothing untoward had occurred to deprive him of civil rights, and each department was to return members in proportion to its population.

It is not to be supposed that the members of the provisional government occupied a position that was free from danger during their period of office. Troubles arose through the dissatisfaction of the officers and men of the old national guard at the manner in which the new body was reorganized, and on March 26 a great demonstration of the working classes was directed against the government. But any evil that might have arisen was prevented by the calmness and tact of Lamartine, who appears to have acted with judgment and moderation during his continuance in office. A more serious attempt to overthrow the provisional government and to prevent the establishment of the republic on a safe and sure basis was made on April 16 by the insurrectionists and members of the revolutionary clubs, the red republicans, as they were aptly termed, who at the instigation of Barbès and Blanqui sought to postpone the elections indefinitely, which had already been put off to April 23, and to form a "Committee of Public Safety" after the pattern of the body of that name in the revolution of 1793. The government, however, had timely information of their intention. The command of the troops was given to General Changarnier, and as the insurgents commenced a movement on the Hôtel de Ville they found themselves literally surrounded by the thousands of national guards, who had hastily run to arms at the summons of Lamartine and his colleagues. No further opposition was then offered to the elections. On May 4 the national assembly was formally opened. The members of the provisional government resigned office, and on the 10th an executive commission was appointed by ballot, consisting of Arago, Lamartine, Marie, Garnier-Pages and Ledru-Rollin. Scarcely had this been done when the reds, led by Barbès and Blanqui and encouraged by Louis Blanc, took advantage of a proposal to send aid to Poland, which was to be discussed in the assembly, and to which Lamartine and three of his colleagues were known to be opposed, to attempt to create new disturbances. On May 15 the Palais Bourbon, then the legislative palace, in which the meetings of the assembly were held, was invaded by twenty thousand armed rioters, General Courtais, who had the command of

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the national guard, having taken no precautions to prevent the attack. For a few hours the men of the suburbs had it their own way, and even went so far as to establish a provisional government at the Hôtel de Ville, but by nine in the evening, owing to the prompt measures taken by Lamartine, Barbès and Raspail, with others of the leaders, were arrested and the riot was brought to an end. General Cavaignac was then appointed minister of war, and General Courtais was replaced in the command of the national guard by Colonel Clement Thomas. On the following day a grand review of the national guard was held in the Champ de Mars, and shortly after Blanqui was arrested and sent to Vincennes.

Among the earliest acts of the new national assembly was a decree declaring the perpetual banishment of Louis Philip and the Orleans princes, and temporary revival of the decrees against the Bonaparte family, in consequence of the return of Prince Louis Napoleon for the department of the Seine and three other departments. Consequently the prince did not take his seat as a member of the assembly. Although the late attempt of the reds to subvert the government had been frustrated, the revolutionists were in no way disposed to submit, and in consequence of the declared intention of the government to close the national workshops, the working classes, incited by the clubbists and revolutionary agents, ran to arms throughout Paris on the night of June 23. On the following morning Paris, bristling with barricades, was declared in a state of siege by General Cavaignac, who promptly drove the insurgents from the left bank of the Seine. Severe fighting and much bloodshed followed, and it was not until the evening of the 25th that the suburb of the Temple, the last stronghold of the insurgents, was stormed and taken after a heavy cannonade, and the city once more brought under the control of the government. Affre, the Archbishop of Paris, was mortally wounded in a barricade in the Place de la Bastille while he was imploring the insurgents to lay down their arms, and it is estimated that at least sixteen thousand persons were killed and wounded in this outbreak, while eleven thousand were taken prisoners or arrested for having been concerned in it. Among the chief instigators of the revolt were Louis Blanc and Caussidière, but being present when a motion was brought on for their prosecution in the national assembly, they made their escape and fled to England. General Cavaignac was then appointed head of the executive, with the title of president of the council, and on

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July 4 a formal announcement was made of the suppression of the national workshops.

The national assembly now turned its attention to the preparation of a constitution for the new republic. By this it was provided that there should be but one legislative chamber, and that the head of the executive should be a president who should be elected by universal suffrage every four years, as in the United States. The temporary enactment against the return of the Bonapartes to France, to which reference has been made, was revoked by the assembly, and Prince Louis Napoleon, who had taken his seat in September for the department of the Seine, became a candidate for the office against General Cavaignac, Raspail, Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine. The last three got but few votes, and the contest lay in reality between the republican general and the heir of Napoleon I., of whom the latter was elected by 6,048,072 votes to 1,479,121 registered for his opponent. The prince was formally proclaimed as President of the French Republic on December 20, his tenure of office to continue till May 9, 1852. On the following day he took his oath of office to preserve the republic inviolable, and shortly after announced the formation of his cabinet, at the head of which was Odillon Barrot.

The extreme section of the republican party were by no means contented with the measures that had been taken to reëstablish order in France, and undeterred by their defeat in the preceding June, again sought to rouse the working classes into action against the government in January, 1849. Information, however, respecting the intended outbreak was conveyed to the government, and prompt measures were taken to prevent a rising. The revolutionists had their friends in the national assembly, and these, disappointed at finding that the governing powers were stronger and more on the alert than they had hoped, proposed the impeachment of ministers through their chief spokesman, Ledru-Rollin, and even carried the proposal by a small majority in the national assembly. The ministry was strong enough to disregard this and, to show how little they feared the attacks of the red party, either within or without the assembly, immediately took measures for bringing the instigators of the insurrections of May and June in the preceding year to trial before a high court of justice, held at Bourges in March, 1849. The result was that Barbès and Albert (*ouvrier*) were transported for life, Blanqui for ten years and Raspail and others for shorter terms. It was not only in France that the revo-

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lution of 1848 worked mischief to all classes. Discontent and rebellion against duly constituted authority broke out in fever flushes of insurrection in many parts of Europe, and in the Papal states a constituent assembly was formed in 1849, and the Roman republic proclaimed. The Pope appealed to the Catholic states of Europe for aid against his rebellious subjects, and France, contrary to the general expectation, was the first to respond to his cry for assistance. A large majority in the national assembly decided on giving immediate support to the Pope by armed intervention, and General Oudinot was sent to Italy at the head of a considerable force, and after landing at Civita Vecchia, marched on Rome and made preparations for an attack on the city on the west side. The siege commenced on June 3, 1849, but the defense was bravely sustained by Garibaldi for more than three weeks. In spite of his efforts, however, several of his positions were carried by assault, and on June 30 Rome was taken. The Pope's authority was immediately reestablished throughout his dominions, but he was not sufficiently powerful to repress any further outbreak that might happen. It was thought best that General Oudinot and his troops should occupy the city and secure the Pope against a second expulsion from his territory. The steps taken by the French government to destroy the newly-born Roman republic were extremely distasteful to the reds, who saw in it only too certain a proof of the strength of the ministry. On June 14 Ledru-Rollin and the chiefs of the red party made a fresh attempt to incite insurrection in Paris. A few barricades were thrown up here and there, but the rising was speedily suppressed, and the instigators of the outbreak compelled to preserve their liberty by immediate flight to England, whose hospitality they violated by constant plotting against the government they feared and hated.

This for some years was the last open act of rebellion against constituted authority in Paris. The year 1850 was not marked in France by any incident, social or political, that deserves particular notice, except the measures that were taken in September of that year to place certain restrictions on freedom of discussion, in consequence of the undue license of language used by a great part of the French press against the president and his ministers. The new repressive press laws were, as might have been expected, distasteful to the republican party. General Changarnier, an Algerian veteran, who was commander-in-chief of the national guards of

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Paris and the troops of the first military division, did not hesitate to express freely his opinions of the course sanctioned by the president, and this led to a misunderstanding which resulted in his removal from his command in January, 1851. The legislative assembly also took occasion to express its disapproval of the acts of the president and his ministry. Odillon Barrot was now no longer in office, his cabinet having been dismissed in 1849 for its decisions on many questions which were presented to the members for discussion. A vote of want of confidence in the ministry was proposed, and carried by a large majority, and this was followed by a conditional acceptance of the president's dotation bill. A motion for the revision of the constitution was passed, it is true, on June 19, but the majority in favor of the motion not being large enough according to French parliamentary law at that time, it was declared to be rejected. It was clear that a gulf was opening between the president and the national assembly that could be bridged over by nothing except arbitrary measures on one side or the other, which would tend to destroy the party, whichever it might be, against whom they were directed. The assembly thwarted the president and his ministers, and strove to throw on them the odium of all repressive measures that might be passed, while the president himself, when on a tour of inspection in some of the departments, did not hesitate at Dijon to speak of the assembly as being willing enough to sanction any laws of repression that were proposed to them, although they took care to offer the most persistent opposition to any measures that were proposed by the government for the amelioration of the condition of the people at large.

It must be remembered, in considering the event that is about to be described, that Louis Napoleon, from an early period of his life, had always aimed at attaining supreme power in France, and that his conduct since his elevation to the presidential chair had been sedulously shaped to the realization of that end. His defense of the Pope's rights in Italy had won over the clergy to his side; his frequent reviews and addresses to the French troops, in which, naturally enough, he dwelt on the glory reaped by the soldiery of France under the empire, secured the army, while the rural population were attracted by the desire, which he so frequently expressed during his tours, to effect an amelioration of the condition of the artisan classes, whether agricultural or manufacturing. It was difficult to procure any fundamental change in the constitution through

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the legislative assembly, because it could not be made without the sanction of three-fourths of the members, and there were too many of the republican party in the assembly to render success in any project of extending the term of the president's authority by this means even probable. Nothing remained but to effect this by the subversion of the existing constitution, and as the legislative assembly had rejected, in November, a bill introduced at the suggestion of the president for the establishment of universal suffrage in France, it was resolved by Louis Napoleon and his advisers to resort to violent and indeed unconstitutional means for the accomplishment of his chief object, his continuance in power. A *coup d'état* was resolved on, and this was carried into effect on December 2, 1851. Various decrees were issued, by one of which the legislative assembly was declared dissolved, while by another universal suffrage was ordered to be reëstablished throughout France. Paris was also declared in a state of siege and it was proposed that a president should be elected for ten years and commissioned to prepare a constitution for France. It would have been dangerous to the president's projects to have those men at liberty who were likely to be most able and most willing to take steps to thwart them, and accordingly Thiers and the republican generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Bedeau, Lamorcière and Leflô, with about seventy others, were arrested in their houses a little before dawn, and taken quickly and silently to the castle of Vincennes. Berryer, the eminent legitimist barrister, and about one hundred and eighty members of the assembly, who attempted to meet when the news was spread abroad on the following day, were also placed in durance, and every part of Paris was occupied by troops, which had been marched to their destination in the dead of night. By vigorous and well-directed action the president had removed all who were likely to offer serious opposition to the course he had adopted, and prevented much of the bloodshed that must have followed had those whom he arrested been at large. As it was, an attempt at insurrection was made in many parts of Paris on December 3, 1851, and the day following. Barricades were erected and many fell under the fire of the troops, but the promptness of the generals in command brought matters to a close on the 5th, and Paris was spared much of the destruction, loss of life and horror that would have ensued had the resistance to the *coup d'état* been general. It may be well to pause here a moment and note the names of the men who

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were mainly instrumental in aiding Louis Napoleon in carrying out his bold stroke for arbitrary power in France. Those most intimately associated with him were Persigny, afterwards Count Persigny, who had been concerned in all his previous plots, and for long years the most devoted of his adherents; Morny, afterwards the Duke of Morny, a clever schemer and financier, possessed of many great personal gifts, and General Fleury, one of his aides-de-camp, a good horseman and without any scruples of conscience in carrying out anything he might undertake. Subordinate to these were General, afterwards Marshal, St. Arnaud, who had been made minister of war on October 27; Maupas, who had been appointed prefect of police at the same time; General Lowoestine, commander of the national guard; and Generals Magnan, Forey, Canrobert and others, many of whom acquired considerable renown under the empire in subsequent years.

In accordance with the principle of universal suffrage enunciated in one of the decrees of December 2, 1851, the people were asked on December 21 to vote, throughout the whole of France, for or against the following plebiscite: "The French people desire the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and delegate to him the powers necessary for establishing a constitution upon the basis proposed in his proclamation of December 2." The result showed that 7,439,216 persons voted in the affirmative. while only 640,737 signified their dissent from the plebiscite. On New Year's Day, 1852, the president was formally installed in office and took up his residence in the Tuileries. Soon after this Changarnier and most of those who had been imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes were conducted across the Belgian frontier and set at liberty, on the condition that they would not seek to return to France without permission. Upwards of eighty members of the late legislative assembly were sent into exile, and about six hundred more who had taken up arms to resist the *coup d'état* were transported to the penal settlement of Cayenne. The national guard was disbanded and immediately reorganized, and on January 14 a new constitution was promulgated, and the titles of the French nobility, which had been abolished at the revolution of 1848, were restored. In the new constitution regulations for the election of the second chamber were duly propounded. One deputy was to be returned by every 35,000 electors in a department, with one in addition, if there should happen to be a surplus population of 25,000 in the depart-

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ment. Thus, for example, if a department contained 105,000 electors, it was to return three members; but if the surplus over this number brought the total up to 130,000 or upwards, it was entitled to four members. Every department was to be divided into as many electoral districts as it was entitled to deputies, according to the number of electors that it contained. All Frenchmen above the age of twenty, being in full possession of all civil and political rights, were entitled to vote.

It was not until March 29 that the new legislative chambers met in the Tuileries. The session was opened in considerable state by the prince-president, who sought to disabuse the minds of his hearers of the thought that, perchance, might be lurking there, that it was his intention to seek the revival of the empire, by boldly declaring that he had no intention of doing so, unless the conduct of seditious factions compelled him to adopt such a course. "Let us," he said, "maintain the republic; it menaces nobody, but reassures all." The birthday of Napoleon I., August 15, was ordered to be kept as a fête-day throughout France, and the good understanding that assuredly existed between the governor and governed in the country was increased by an act of amnesty which permitted the return of Thiers, Changarnier and other political exiles of December 2 to France. There can be but little doubt that one thought had been predominant in Louis Napoleon's mind since he had grown to manhood, and that that thought was the revival of the empire. Whether measures were taken by himself and his supporters to set the tide of public opinion in the direction which it assuredly took soon after his installation as president for ten years it is impossible to say. However it may have been excited, the wish for the restoration of the empire was at this time paramount in France. It was openly mentioned in all parts of France. In September a petition was presented to the senate asking for the "reëstablishment of the hereditary power in the Bonaparte family," and this was followed by many others to the same effect. At Lyons, whither the president had gone to be present at the inauguration of an equestrian statue of Napoleon I., the spectators broke out into enthusiastic cries of "*Vive l'empereur.*" At Bordeaux, in a tour through the southern departments, the president, in allusion to the evident wish for the revival of the empire, took occasion to say, "The empire is peace," an avowal, in fact, of his intention to promote industry, commerce and the arts of peace throughout France as long as the

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country remained under his rule. It was during this tour that he performed a graceful act of clemency towards a fallen foe of France by permitting Abd-el-Kader to retire to Asia Minor, on condition that he would never again take up arms for the recovery of Algeria. At last, when the senate met in November, yielding to what appeared to be the wish of the nation at large, the prince-president ordered that a plebiscite should be issued respecting the revival of the empire, for or against which the people might record their votes on November 21. The plebiscite ran thus: "The French people wishes the resuscitation of the imperial dignity in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, with succession in his direct legitimate or adopted descendants." The number of votes recorded in favor of the plebiscite was 7,824,189; only 253,143 were registered against it. On December 1, 1852, the senate and legislative body proceeded to St. Cloud to acquaint the president with the result of the voting, and Louis Napoleon signified his acceptance of the imperial crown and his intention to assume the title of Napoleon III. On the following day, the anniversary of the *coup d'état*, the empire was proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville, and the emperor entered Paris amid the acclamations of the people. Such was the ending of the second republic, after a brief existence of four years and ten months.

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Chapter XXVII

THE EMPIRE OF NAPOLEON III. 1852-1870

ONE of the first acts of Napoleon III., after the reception of the imperial crown, was the promulgation of a decree confirming the succession to Jerome Bonaparte, ex-King of Westphalia, and his male heirs, if he himself should die without issue in direct legitimacy, and having provided for this contingency he began to seek for a suitable consort. It is said that he was at first anxious to contract an alliance with the Princess Caroline Vasa of Sweden, but that the northern powers refused to give their consent to the match. Failing in this quarter, he offered his hand to the Countess Eugénie Marie of Montijo, the daughter of the Count of Montijo, a grandee of Spain, a young lady of twenty-six years and of great personal beauty. The marriage took place in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame on January 30, 1853, and was immediately followed by an amnesty by which between four thousand and five thousand persons, who were undergoing punishment for political offenses, were pardoned. This act of clemency had but little effect on the republican party, or the extreme section of it, who before the year had expired concerted a plot against the emperor's life. Fortunately, it was discovered before it could be carried into effect, and the intended assassins were variously punished according to their complicity and importance by transportation for life, or imprisonment for a greater or less number of years.

For many years of his life a resident in England, the emperor, besides having become impressed with the value of free institutions and real personal liberty, was imbued with a feeling of genuine liking and real friendship towards the country that had afforded him an asylum in the time of adversity, and sought every opportunity of cultivating a good understanding, not only between the governments of France and England, but also between the people of the respective countries. About this time the Eastern Question, as it was called, was occupying the attention of Europe, especially as Russia was seeking to turn it to such account as would enable her to

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carry out the designs she had long entertained against Turkey. The Emperor of Russia, as head of the Greek church, had for some time been endeavoring to persuade the Sultan of Turkey, by virtue of former treaties, to give to that church the principal authority over the holy places at Jerusalem at which many of the chief events in our Saviour's life were said to have taken place. The Emperor of France as "eldest son of the church" supported the right of the Latin or Roman Catholic church to claim and exercise an equal degree of authority over these spots, and the dispute was still in abeyance when the Czar suddenly claimed from Turkey the protectorate of the Greek Christians in that country and the right of settling all complaints that might be lodged against the Greek patriarchs and bishops in Constantinople. He even went so far as to suggest to England that it was time to divide Turkey between England and Russia, an overture which the British government promptly declined, asserting plainly at the same time its intention of upholding the integrity of Turkey at any cost. At this juncture the emperor also declared his intention of acting in concert with England in behalf of Turkey, and a combined French and English fleet was sent to the Dardenelles. Reassured by the friendly attitude of the western powers, the Sultan no longer hesitated to refuse to accede to the demands of his northern neighbor, and on July 2 a Russian army crossed the Pruth and occupied the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. On October 4 the Porte made a formal declaration of war against Russia, and entered into the struggle with spirit and alacrity. England and France exhausted every endeavor to induce the Czar to forego his demands, withdraw his troops and resume friendly relations with Turkey, but finding that their efforts to preserve peace were futile, they declared war against Russia and immediately dispatched troops to the East. After a delay of five months, which was spent in accumulating men and materials of war at Varna, the allied French and English armies sailed across the Black Sea and landed in the Crimea on September 14. The disembarkation of the troops was unopposed by the Russians, but in their march southward on Sebastopol the allies found a strong Russian force under Menschikov posted in a commanding position on the south bank of the Alma to dispute the passage of the river. The English troops made a vigorous attack on the center and the right of the Russian position and carried it, while the Russian left, resting on the sea, was turned by General Bosquet's

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division, consisting of zouaves and other picked French troops, who scaled the cliffs abutting on the sea and, by their unexpected appearance on the Russian flank, completed the victory for the allies. Menschikov immediately fell back and entered Sebastopol, whither Lord Raglan, the English commander-in-chief, wished to follow him at once and to attempt to carry the city by a *coup de main*, but Marshal Saint Arnaud, who held the command-in-chief of the French and who was worn out with illness—he died nine days after the victory—was indisposed to agree to Lord Raglan's proposal, and the troops of the allies, passing the city by a flank march to the left, took up a position on the plateau to the south of Sebastopol, and having secured communication with the fleets of Balaklava Bay, proceeded to commence operations for the investment of the city.

The Russians having gradually recovered from the depression produced by their defeat on the Alma, commenced a series of strenuous efforts to dislodge the allies from their positions, and to interrupt them in their preparations for the siege, which was commenced on October 17. Sortie after sortie was made, but on October 25 a general action took place in the valley of Balaklava, by which the Russians sought to crush the allies between the city and its forts, and the attacking party from without. This was followed, on November 5, by the battle of Inkerman, in which a large body of English troops, after having exhausted their ammunition against the Russians, who returned repeatedly to the attack, were succored by the timely arrival of the French. Both of these battles terminated in the repulse of the Russians. No further attack of any importance was made by the besieged, and the batteries of the besiegers seemed to make but little impression on the outworks of the city during the long and dreary winter that ensued, and in which the allied troops endured the greatest hardships and privations. Shortly after the death of the Czar Nicholas of Russia, who was succeeded by his son Alexander II., Sardinia joined the Western powers against Russia in 1855, and in the spring of that year sent a small contingent of troops to the seat of war. On June 6 and the following day the French obtained possession of the White Works and Mamelon, but an attack on the Malakoff by the French and on the Redan by the English on June 18 proved a failure. At this time General Pelissier, who had seen much service in Algeria, had superseded General Canrobert in the command of the French, and shortly after General Simpson assumed the chief com-

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mand of the English, Lord Raglan having died in camp on June 25. On August 16 an attack was made on the English and Sardinian camps in the valley of the Tchernaya, which was repulsed, and on September 8, after a terrific bombardment for three days, the French carried the Malakoff, but failed in their assault on the Little Redan, as did the English in an attack on the Redan. In the evening, however, the Russian troops evacuated the city and withdrew to the north side of the harbor, and on the following day the allies took possession of it. Austria now interfered to bring about peace, and in February, 1856, an armistice was signed and hostilities suspended. Peace was definitely signed on March 30, 1856, Russia pledging herself to regard the Black Sea for the future as neutral water, closed to the fleets of all nations, and to keep up no maritime force therein.

Nothing of importance had occurred at home during the year 1855, except an interchange of visits between Napoleon III. and Queen Victoria. On April 17 the former, accompanied by the empress, arrived at Windsor on a visit to the queen, and were entertained by the lord mayor of London at the Guildhall on the 19th, while on August 18 the queen and prince consort made a brief stay in Paris. On April 28 an attempt was made on the life of the emperor, while riding in the Champs Elysées, by an Italian named Pianori, who was captured on the spot, tried and sentenced to death. On May 15 the Paris Universal Exhibition of Industry was opened, being the second of the series of industrial displays which had been inaugurated by the exhibition in London in 1851. Another attempt was made to assassinate the emperor on November 8, but the assassin was arrested by a police agent, who struck down his arm as he was about to fire. The man proved to be a dangerous lunatic. The year 1855 was further marked by the readiness with which the French people responded to the call of the government for a loan of 500,000,000 francs. So great was the confidence and such was the prosperity of all classes in France at that time that nearly twice this sum was offered in a few days, although a loan of 250,000,000 francs had been subscribed for at the commencement of the war. A few months after a third loan, of 500,000,000 francs, was asked for, and in response more than three times the sum required was offered, principally by small investors, who sought thus to turn their earnings to good account. The year 1856, which witnessed the restoration of peace, is noteworthy for the

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birth of Napoleon's only child, the Prince Napoleon Eugène Louis, born on March 16, an event which was hailed with the utmost satisfaction by the French nation and which at that time bid fair to secure the maintenance of the dynasty. The national prosperity, however, suffered a check in the latter part of the year by destructive inundations in the south of France, which caused great loss of life and property, while there was much distress in the money market, and numerous important commercial failures. The working classes, in spite of these occurrences, were prosperous and happy, for work was abundant, owing to the measures adopted by the government for the improvement of the capital.

Although the conduct of the emperor since his accession to power had been such as to merit the affection and esteem of all his subjects, the revolutionary faction were untiring in seeking to assassinate him. On January 14, 1858, as the emperor and empress were proceeding along the Rue Lepelletier on their way to the opera, several detonating shells were thrown under the carriage in which they were seated. These exploded without injury to the emperor, but killed or wounded more than one hundred and fifty persons, riddled by seventy-six projectiles. The chief conspirators were an Italian, named Orsini, Pieri, another Italian, Rudio and Gomez. They were arrested shortly after, and Orsini and Pieri, being sentenced to death, were guillotined on March 13. This and other similar plots were undoubtedly hatched in England. A remonstrance was addressed to the English government, urging them to make their laws more strict against political refugees. Lord Palmerston, who was in office at the time, brought in a bill for this most necessary and desirable purpose, but the bill was rejected by the House of Commons, and Lord Palmerston resigned. This tended, in a measure, to impair the cordial understanding between the governments of France and England, which in the previous year had sent a combined fleet and army to China, to punish the Chinese for their frequent attacks upon foreigners and to compel them to respect the treaties into which they had entered from time to time. Canton was bombarded and taken on December 29, and the allies then proceeded northward to Peking. Having entered the Peiho and taken the forts at the entrance to that river, the Chinese became alarmed and made overtures for peace, which was concluded at Tien-tsin on June 29, and signed by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, the plenipotentaries of England and France, re-

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spectively. The failure of Lord Palmerston's "Conspiracy to Murder" bill, as it was called, and the acquittal of Simon Bernard, a Frenchman who was implicated in Orsini's plot against the emperor's life, and who was brought to trial for the offense in London, caused a great deal of angry feeling in France, and a portion of the army clamored loudly for war with England. A public safety bill and some restrictions on the press were adopted at this time in the French legislative chambers, but not without protest on the part of Emile Ollivier, who was already coming into prominence as one of the chiefs of the liberal party. At this time France was divided into five great military commands, for the better security of the country against attacks from without and within. The most notable event of the year was the opening of the new naval docks at Cherbourg, in the presence of the emperor and Queen Victoria. This port had been rendered a secure harbor of refuge by the completion of the breakwater, which had been commenced in the year 1783, while the strong cordon of forts with which it was surrounded towards the sea rendered it impregnable to any attack from that quarter.

Since 1856 the peace of Europe had remained unbroken, but public confidence in its maintenance was shaken by the words addressed by Napoleon III. to the Austrian ambassador at the usual New Year's Day reception of the representatives of foreign powers at the Tuileries, January 1, 1859. "I regret," said the emperor, "that our relations with your government are not so good as formerly." Napoleon had formed a secret alliance with Sardinia for the expulsion of Austria from Italy, and the time had come for action. The marriage, on January 30, of Prince Napoleon, the son of Jerome Bonaparte, with Clotilde, the daughter of the King of Sardinia, seemed to point to a good understanding between France and Italy, but the full meaning of the emperor's remark to the Austrian ambassador was not revealed until the following month, and Austria called on Sardinia to disarm, and menaced her with war in case she refused to comply with the demand. On this the emperor openly declared his intention of assisting Sardinia, if Austria declared war against her. This having been done in consequence of the steady refusal of Sardinia to disarm, a French army was sent across the Alps and entered Italy in the beginning of May. The Austrians, who had entered Piedmont, were compelled to retreat. They were beaten in a succession of battles at Monte-

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bello, Palestro, Magenta, and Melegnano by the Franco-Sardinian army, and, on June 8, 1859, the Emperor Napoleon and King Victor Emmanuel entered Milan. A few days after the victory of Solferino, in which fortune again declared for the allies, Napoleon made peace overtures to the Emperor of Austria. This action was due to the threatening attitude of Prussia, to the spread of the movement for unity in central Italy and to the opposition to the war that now became pronounced in court circles in Paris. An armistice was concluded and the terms of peace arranged at Villafranca on July 8, although peace was not definitely signed until November. By this treaty Lombardy was ceded to the Emperor of the French, who, in accordance with his engagement to that effect, handed over the ceded territory to Victor Emmanuel. This was the first link in the chain of events which culminated, in 1861, in the acquisition of the entire peninsula of Italy by Victor Emmanuel, with the exception of the territory surrounding Rome and Venetia. In 1860, while these events were yet in progress, a treaty was concluded between France and Italy by which Savoy and Nice were ceded to the former power as compensation for the union of the states of central Italy to Sardinia.

Meanwhile France had not neglected its interests in Asia. After the conclusion of the Peace of Tien-tsin it had been agreed that ambassadors from France and England should for the future take up their residence in Peking, but the envoys and their escort were fired on while passing the Peiho forts. This compelled the French and English governments to send another expedition to China, under the orders of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, and commanded by Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban. The Taku forts, at the mouth of the Peiho, were carried by assault and destroyed, and the allies sacked and burned the Chinese emperor's summer palace, near Peking, and invested the capital. Once more the Chinese authorities found themselves compelled to sue for peace, and a treaty, on favorable terms to the European powers, was concluded at Peking on October 24, 1860.

At home the year was marked by the conclusion of a commercial treaty between France and England, arranged by Cobden, the eminent advocate of free-trade, by which the products and manufactures of each country were received in the other, duty free, or at merely nominal rates of duty. The emperor also took occasion, about this time, to neutralize the ill effect produced by a

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portion of the French press, which was always clamoring against the alliance with England, by writing a letter to Count Persigny, the French ambassador in London, in which he disavowed any feeling whatever of hostility towards England on the part of the French government, and, as if to give evidence of this by some tangible proof, he proposed to allow Englishmen to enter France without passports on and after January 1, 1861. This period of Napoleon's reign found him not only endeavoring to promote a feeling of cordiality and good-will between England and France, but doing his utmost to extend political and religious liberty in his own dominions. Greater freedom of speech than heretofore was permitted in the senate and legislative assembly, while many of the restrictions on the press were relaxed.

Up to this time the clergy, almost to a man, had supported the emperor, but a bitter feeling was roused in them against him when he suffered a speech, made by Prince Napoleon, against the temporal power of the Pope, to pass by without reproof. It also tended to alienate the more rigid Catholics from the emperor, while so openly shown was the hostility of the priests to the throne that it was found necessary to forbid them to meddle with politics, and to remind them that there were duties which they owed to Napoleon, as their temporal sovereign, as well as to the Pope, the spiritual head of the church. This was followed by embarrassments in the finances, which caused the emperor to summon the eminent financier, Achille Fould, to his aid. This able man then became minister of finance, but the only step he could take towards relieving the pressure on the state coffers was to reduce the 4½ per cent. bonds to 3 per cent. and impose new taxes and stamp duties. He also prevailed on the emperor to abstain from contracting any loans in future without the sanction of the legislative body.

In 1862 the Mexican expedition was attracting considerable attention, not only in France but throughout the whole of Europe. The misconduct of the Mexican government towards foreigners of different nationalities residing in that country had become so glaring that England, France and Spain resolved to send an allied fleet and army thither, to compel the Mexicans to make suitable reparation for past offenses and to promise to abstain from similar acts for the future. The Spanish troops, who were the first to arrive in the Gulf of Mexico, landed and occupied Vera Cruz in December, 1861, and early in 1862 the French and English contingents

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arrived. Juarez, president of Mexico, entered into a convention with the allied troops at Soledad, the terms of which were satisfactory to the English and Spanish governments, but not to the French, who determined to prosecute the war in the hope of re-establishing a stable government in the country. Napoleon III., in short, proposed to establish an empire in Mexico and place the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, on the throne. The French troops, under General Forey, remained in Mexico, though the English and Spanish contingents were withdrawn. Considerable reinforcements were sent out and arrangements entered into with the Mexicans who were hostile to Juarez, for the revival of the Mexican empire. In 1863 a provisional government was formed and the crown was formally offered to Maximilian, who did not arrive in the country, however, until May 29, 1864. Meanwhile Forey had been recalled and Bazaine had assumed the command of the French troops. In Asia the French arms gained, in 1862, more notable successes than in America. A large part of Cochin China was conquered and annexed as a dependency of the French empire, and a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded with the ruler of Anam.

At home affairs were beginning to wear a gloomy appearance. Considerable distress had arisen in the manufacturing districts, as the civil war then raging in America between the northern and southern sections of the United States had stopped the supply of cotton, on which the prosperity of the cotton manufacture was of course entirely dependent. This was followed by discontent among the working classes, which was promptly worked on by the revolutionary party, by whom an agitation against the emperor was immediately set on foot. This agitation was aided, indirectly, by the opposition shown by the liberal party in the legislative chamber, to the system of personal government which had hitherto been adopted, and carried out with success, by the emperor. Just at this period the legislative body was dissolved, and Count Persigny, who was then minister for home affairs, took reprehensible measures to influence the electors in their choice of representatives, thus reviving the worst feature of government interference with political freedom under the monarchy, in his desire to obtain a chamber the majority of whose members should be subservient to the emperor's views. He failed, however, to carry the elections. Thiers, Jules Favre, Ollivier, Jules Simon, Ernest Picard and other

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well-known opponents of the government were returned for Paris, and Persigny and other members of the cabinet, finding the results generally unfavorable to them, resigned. Billault also, the minister through whom the views and wishes of the emperor were generally expounded to the legislative chamber, died in October, 1863, and was succeeded as minister of state by Rouher. Towards the close of 1863 the emperor made a proposal for a general European congress to settle any differences that might exist and to regulate matters in the future, but although most of the states of Europe were, without doubt, willing and even desirous to accede to the proposal, England declined participation in it on the plea that dissensions might arise in the course of the discussions that might place the general relations of the states in a worse position than they were before; and so the matter fell to the ground.

The legislative session of 1865 was opened by a speech from the throne which promised fairly enough, as far as the words went in which it was couched, and the assurances which it contained. The country was congratulated on the probability of the continued maintenance of peace and a revival of prosperity, and the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, which had been maintained there since 1849, was spoken of as an eventuality which would probably happen. A repeal of the French navigation laws and a consequent extension of the principles of free trade was promised, and measures for the extension of the powers of local management in departments and communes, without the intervention of the state. The right of provisional release from detention before trial, with or without bail, as might be found necessary, even in criminal cases, and a total suppression of personal arrest for offenses in civil or commercial matters, were to be considered. It was also desired to provide for compulsory instruction throughout France, but a bill to this effect which was introduced by Darney, the minister for instruction, was negatived by the legislative chamber. The realization of these proposals would have been an advance in the right direction towards the attainment of a fuller system of personal freedom in France, but at the same time the government took measures to stifle public discussion by the suppression of public meetings. Indeed, no more than twenty persons were allowed to meet together for this purpose, and Garnier-Pages and several of his friends who had come together at his private residence to talk over some election business were actually punished with fines for violation of

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this law. During the session the opposition, and a great part of the French press, were unanimous in condemning the Mexican occupation as a grave error, and in demanding the recall of the French troops. The emperor, to satisfy the wishes of the nation, agreed to the withdrawal of the army of occupation in the following year. This was done, and Maximilian, who had been induced to accept the crown on the understanding that the emperor would accord him the support of the French arms as long as might be necessary, was abandoned to his fate. For a short time he struggled to maintain his crown against the attacks of the followers of Juarez, but he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies at Queratarо on May 15, and after being tried by court-martial was shot by order of Juarez on June 19, 1867.

It is necessary now to direct attention to the brief but bloody war that occurred in 1866 between Prussia and Austria. These powers had combined in 1864 to crush Denmark and deprive her of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, over which she had long held jurisdiction. Denmark was defeated in the unequal contest, and Austria and Prussia were unable to agree about the division of the territory. An appeal to arms was the consequence. Prussia, thoroughly prepared for war, at once took the field, and, after a brief contest, now known as the "Seven Weeks' War," opened the road to Vienna by the victory of Sadowa, or Königgratz, over the Austrians. At this point Napoleon III. offered himself as a mediator, but as it was notorious that he was unable at that time to place a large army in the field, his interference was of little value to Austria and of no advantage to France. In keeping with the agreement made before the war, Italy, which had combined with Prussia to attack Austria, was given Venice, though the Italian troops were defeated in more than one engagement by the Austrians. From this time the animosity that had been cherished for years towards France by Prussia deepened in intensity. Both countries felt that war must eventually break out between them, and took no conciliatory measures to prevent it. The ill-feeling was further augmented on both sides by the rejection by Count Bismarck, the prime minister of Prussia, of a request made by the French government that the rectification of the French frontier to what it had been in 1814 should be taken into consideration by Prussia. This application met with a peremptory and uncourteous refusal.

Among other events for which the year 1866 is noteworthy

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is the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome. The evacuation was commenced in the winter of 1865, and the last detachment left the eternal city on December 13, 1866, after receiving the blessing of the Pope, who took no pains to conceal his regret at their departure. The withdrawal of the French troops revived the desire of the Italians to make Rome once more the capital of united Italy, but the Italian government took no steps to encourage their aspiration in this direction. After a declaration, made by Rouher in the legislative assembly, to the effect that Italy should never seize Rome to the prejudice or injury of the Pope, a substitute was found for the army of occupation in a new Pontifical army, which was recruited from the most enthusiastic of the Catholics in France, Ireland, and other countries.

The lead which had been taken by England in the promotion of the comparison of industrial progress made from time to time by all nations was carefully followed by France, and as the first exhibition in London in 1851 was succeeded by a similar one in Paris in 1855, so the second international exhibition, held in the metropolis of the British empire in 1862, was followed by a great international exhibition in France in 1867. The building in which it was held was erected in the Champ de Mars, and while it was open—the inaugural ceremony was held on April 1—it was visited by the Czar of Russia, the King of Prussia, and others of the crowned heads of Europe. While this great display of the world's art and manufacture was being held in Paris, a conference was opened in London with respect to Luxemburg, whose fortress, which belonged to the King of Holland as Grand Duke of Luxemburg and was considered a part of the German empire, was occupied by Prussian troops. France, jealous of the maintenance of this fortress on her northeastern frontier by Prussia, called on that power to withdraw its troops, and, by a treaty signed in London on May 11, 1867, by the representatives of France, England, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Italy, Holland and Belgium, it was agreed that the defensive works of Luxemburg should be dismantled and the territory henceforward should be considered neutral.

Public attention had for some time been directed by the government to the necessity that existed for the reorganization of the French army, and a proposal made with this object in the legislative assembly in 1867 had met with rejection. The uncertainy, however, of any long continuance of peace had much to do with weak-

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ening the opposition that had previously been shown to this measure, and in 1868 a new army bill was passed through the senate and legislative assembly, by which it was arranged that 100,000 men should be added to the army annually, the period of service being fixed at twelve years. This would have placed a standing army of 1,200,000 men constantly at the disposal of the government, and the plan, if it had been properly carried out, would, in time, have passed a great part of the population of France through the army and rendered her an armed nation, like Germany. It is asserted that the money voted annually for this reconstruction of the army was not used for the purpose for which it was intended, but was appropriated by the authorities at the war office. Whether this be a true statement or not the future alone can prove, but it is a grave fact, that goes far to substantiate it, that when the safety of France depended on her army and the state of preparation for war in which her army was found, its numerical strength, when in the field, was far under what it had appeared to be on paper, and, while the men had lost none of the admirable qualities that have always distinguished the French soldier, the officers, especially those in the higher grades, with many honorable exceptions, of course, were found to be ignorant of the art of war, incapable and utterly unable to command the respect and confidence of the men who had to follow them. In addition to the measures taken for the addition of new recruits annually to the army, it was resolved to form a new national guard, or *garde mobile,* which might be sent as the government might direct, from one part of the country to the other, while the old national guard, or *garde nationale sédentaire,* as it was termed, was only to be called on to operate in its own locality. The government further thought fit to continue repressive measures against the press in consequence of the unbounded license of language which was indulged in by several of them against the emperor and members of his family. Among these the most scurrilous and offensive was *La Lanterne,* a journal whose satire was as weak as its language was disgusting, which was edited by Henri Rochefort, a man of good birth, who aped the sans culottism of the infamous Philip Egalité and other men of rank who made themselves notorious as the abettors of the great French revolution and the excesses which sprang from it. But even while instituting proceedings against the press, the government certainly showed no disposition at this time to stifle free discussion,

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for despite the law which forbade more than twenty persons to meet together for purposes of political discussion, large private meetings were held in different parts of France to determine the line of conduct to be pursued at the approaching general election in 1869. As the government showed no disposition to interfere with them, it was considered that the right of the people to hold political meetings at pleasure was fully conceded.

At the customary reception of the representatives of foreign powers on January 1, 1869, the emperor again took occasion to declare that everything promised the continuance of peace and that the internal prosperity of the country was increasing. A great part of the press, however, declared that the prosperity of France could never be placed on a secure basis until the emperor abandoned his system of personal government, and a bitter outcry was raised against Rouher, whose position as "speaking minister," or mouthpiece of the emperor in the legislative assembly, as well as his alleged subserviency to his imperial master and his inability to conceive or carry out anything for the real benefit of the country, rendered him an object of popular dislike. That the emperor spoke more truthfully than the press can be substantiated by the fact that the financial position of France at the time was good. Reduction of taxation had been promised, the floating debt had been lessened, and it was estimated that the revenue for the financial year 1869-1870 would exceed the expenditure by about 100,000,000 francs. Still a feeling against the emperor, his advisers, and his policy had sprung up and, being carefully nurtured by the opposition, bore its fruit in the general election of 1869, which was held in June, the legislative assembly having been dissolved on April 26. The elections in Paris were attended with attempts at insurrection, but these were promptly suppressed by the government. The result, in the capital, was the return of several candidates notoriously hostile to the emperor, among whom were Thiers, Jules Favre (the republican barrister), Garnier-Pages and Jules Ferry, while among the representatives for the department of the Seine were Gambetta, Jules Simon, Ernest Picard, Eugène Pelletan, and other extreme republicans. The suppression of *La Lanterne* in France and apparent persecution of Rochefort by the government exercised considerable influence on the elections. The journal, whose publication was continued in Belgium, whence it was smuggled into France, was eagerly purchased in the capital. To such an extent did Rochefort

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carry the scurrillity of his language that in June the government commenced a prosecution against him, and, being sentenced to pay a fine of ten thousand francs or to be imprisoned for three years, with loss of civil rights in default, he made his escape into Belgium to avoid arrest. When the new legislative chamber assembled at the end of June, it was found that the opposition had nearly trebled in number, and the emperor, who had given a forecast of his intentions in the *Presse* before the elections took place, now announced his abandonment of personal government for the future and the introduction of ministerial responsibility, the ministry to be selected as in England, in accordance with the views of the party who possessed for the time the majority in the chamber. This was followed immediately by the resignation of Rouher and his colleagues. Rouher became president of the senate and Chasseloup-Laubat took the post of president of the new cabinet, in which Marshal Niel was minister for war, Forcade de la Roquette for the interior, and La Tour d'Auvergne for foreign affairs. In August, however, Marshal Niel died, and his place was filled by General Lebœuf. It was not long, however, that this ministry remained in office, for they resigned on December 27 in consequence of the opposition shown by the chamber to all the measures which they proposed, and the evident leaning of the majority towards the programme of Emile Ollivier and his partisans, which comprised a thorough revision of the Electoral Law, the abolition of official candidatures and a complete municipal reform. A revision of the army bill was also a prominent feature, as well as restoration of trial by jury and the relaxation of the press laws. In November a fresh election having become necessary for Paris, Rochefort had reëntered France to offer himself as a candidate. He was arrested soon after crossing the frontier, but the emperor ordered him to be provided with a safe conduct during the election, which terminated in his return to the legislative chamber.

The reception of the foreign ambassadors on New Year's Day was promptly followed by the announcement of the new liberal ministers. The new cabinet was formed of Ollivier, minister for justice, Count Daru, for foreign affairs, Chevalier de Valdonne, for the interior, Marshal Lebœuf, for war, and Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, for naval affairs. Among other changes Baron Haussmann, who had acquired deserved celebrity for the improvements he had effected in Paris, was replaced as prefect of the Seine by

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Chevreau, who had hitherto been prefect of the Rhone. Hardly had the new ministry assumed office when an event happened which was eagerly taken advantage of to rouse the passions of the mob against the emperor and his family. The notorious Rochefort had repaid the clemency lately shown him by the emperor by the publication of an extreme republican organ, called the *Marseillaise,* in which he indulged in the same scurrilous animadversions against the emperor and his family that had distinguished *La Lanterne.* Prince Pierre Bonaparte, one of the emperor's cousins, a man of indifferent character and violent passions, had retorted on the writer of one of these articles, a man called Grousset, in a Corsican paper, and Grousset sent two of the staff of the *Marseillaise,* a journalist called Salmon, who wrote under the assumed name of Victor Noir, and another, Ulric of Fonvielle, to the prince with a challenge. The prince refused to fight any one but Rochefort, whereupon Victor Noir, as the prince asserted, struck him in the face, while Fonvielle drew a revolver. On this Prince Pierre Bonaparte also took a revolver from his pocket, and fired two or three shots, one of which mortally wounded Victor Noir, who died a few minutes afterwards. The prince immediately surrendered himself to the police, and was tried in March at a high court of justice held at Tours. He was acquitted of any intent to murder, but was ordered to pay twenty-five thousand francs as compensation to the family of the man whom he had shot. The funeral of Victor Noir attracted a considerable number of persons, but nothing serious took place. Rochefort was prosecuted for an article which appeared in the *Marseillaise* immediately after Noir's death, and sentenced to pay a fine of three thousand francs and be imprisoned for six months. The enforcement of his sentence and his arrest caused an outbreak in Belleville and some of the suburbs of Paris, but it was promptly suppressed by the authorities. Among other occurrences which occupied public attention at this time was the strike of the engineers and workmen at the great works of Schneider, the president of the legislative chamber, at Creuzot. This was fomented mainly by a certain Assi, the agent of the International Society.

Much surprise was occasioned towards the end of March by a letter written by the emperor to Ollivier advising certain modifications of the constitution, which were to apply more especially to the senate, and had the effect, in one respect, of assimilating the func-

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tions of the legislative chamber to those of the British House of Commons in determining that supplies should be voted and imperial taxation directed by that body only. The senate was still permitted to initiate bills, but only twenty senators per annum might be added to their ranks besides those who sat there by right. Any modification of the constitution was to be made by the sovereign alone, who would submit the proposed change to the nation at large through a plebiscite. The proposed step was adopted by the senate and preparations were made for submitting it to the national vote. In the legislative chamber it was strenuously opposed on the plea that the whole arrangement looked very much like a return to the principle of personal government, and Count Daru and others of the cabinet resigned. The emperor, however, issued a proclamation calling on the people to ratify the change and by their vote to place order and liberty on a firm basis and render the transmission of the crown from himself to his son in time to come easier than it might be under the constitution as it then stood. The nation responded to his appeal, the number of votes in the affirmative being 7,527,379, while those in the negative numbered 1,530,909. A good deal of rioting occurred on the day of voting and on the two following days, but the barricades that were thrown up were soon taken and destroyed and the ringleaders were arrested. The Ollivier ministry was reconstructed, the principal appointment being that of the Duke of Grammont for foreign affairs. The plotters against the emperor's life were as active as ever. One was detected in April and the conspirators arrested, while another was discovered by the police in July, just about the time that the Orleans princes demanded from the senate permission to return to France, which was refused by 173 votes to 31.

That we cannot tell what a day or an hour may bring forth is as true in politics as in ordinary events of life, and after the solemn ratification of the emperor's acts by the French nation through the plebiscite of May 8, it seemed unlikely that anything would occur immediately to impair the stability of the dynasty and cut short the reign of Napoleon III. In 1868 a revolution had driven Isabella II. from the throne of Spain, and from that time the government had been carried on first by a body provisionally chosen from among its leaders and instigators and then by Marshal Serrano as regent. Great efforts had been made to procure a candidate for the vacant crown, and at last it was accepted, with the approval of the King

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of Prussia by Prince Leopold Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. The French government were by no means desirous of seeing a cadet of the royal family of Prussia on the throne, as they considered naturally enough that if Prussia made war on France, Spain under her influence would make common cause with her and attack France on the south. The Duke of Grammont requested Benedetti, the French ambassador at Berlin, to signify to the King of Prussia that the candidature of Prince Leopold for the Spanish crown was most distasteful to his government, and to request him to order his relative to withdraw from it. Before the king had replied, Prince Anton, acting for his son, announced that he would not accept the Spanish crown, and Benedetti was then directed to ask the King of Prussia to guarantee that the prince should not accept the Spanish crown if perchance it should again be offered to him. This the king refused to do, saying that he had nothing to do with the matter, although he approved of the renunciation of Prince Leopold. Benedetti attempted to press the matter, but the king politely declined to consider it farther. There was no open rupture, the French ambassador being present at the railroad station the next day to pay his respects to the departing king. The incident might have ended then had it not been for Bismarck. He received a dispatch describing the meeting at Ems, and realized that it contained no *casus belli*. Prussia was ready for war and France was not; war was inevitable between the two states, and Bismarck decided to fight when he could do so to the best advantage. He so modified the dispatch by excisions that it left the impression that the French ambassador had been insulted by the King of Prussia. Thus modified the dispatch was published and produced its effect. The asserted insult to France in the person of her ambassador was dwelt on in both chambers, and war was resolved on amid the cheers of the senate, the acclamations of all save a few members of the left in the legislative chamber, and the frantic cries of the Parisians, who, in ignorance of the weakness of the army, thought that a few weeks would see their troops at Berlin. That war was as welcome to the German authorities as it was to France there can be no doubt. The Emperor Napoleon, incapacitated by illness from inquiring as sedulously into the condition of the army as he had in the early part of his reign, and trusting to the false reports of Marshal Lebœuf and others, who had reported the organization of the troops and material of war to be perfect, and every regiment at its

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full strength, though more inclined for peace as far as he was personally concerned, thought that a successful contest with Prussia and the rectification of the Rhine frontier might add to the stability of his dynasty; while Bismarck saw in it the opportunity of rendering Prussian influence paramount in Germany by the consolidation of the minor German states into an empire the crown of which should be hereditary in the Prussian royal family. The Prussian system of military training, which obliged every man to serve in the army during a certain period of his life and afterwards to be liable for service in the reserve, enabled Bismarck to take the field with overwhelming forces and to assemble vast masses of troops on the French frontier before the declaration of war was a fortnight old. In the meantime, too, he had secured the coöperation of the minor German states, who furnished a considerable contingent to the allied armies.

The Emperor Napoleon III. took the field at Metz on July 28, at the head of an army of about 268,000 men, divided into seven army corps under Marshals MacMahon, Bazaine and Canrobert and Generals Frossard, Ladmirault and De Failly. The Germans numbered about 600,000 men, of whom about 190,000 were disposed about the Elbe and in Hanover, to resist invasion in that quarter, while of the remainder, 135,000, under Prince Frederick Charles, formed the right wing, 85,000, under Von Steinmetz, the center, and 200,000, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, the left wing. The King of Prussia took the command of his army in person, the famous Prussian strategist Von Moltke being second in command. The French were overmatched in numbers as well as in intelligence, the Germans being superior in the "absolute unity of their command and concert of operation, in their superior mechanism in equipment and supplies, the superior intelligence, steadiness and discipline of the soldiers, the superior education of the officers and the dash and intelligence of the cavalry," as was fully evinced by the events which subsequently happened.

The first operation was an attack of a French army corps on about fifteen hundred Prussians at Saarbrücken, at which the emperor and prince imperial were present, August 2, 1870, and when the Prussians were dislodged from the town and compelled to retire. Two days after the Crown Prince of Prussia crossed the Lauter, entered France and forced back the second army corps under Frossard with fearful loss, after storming the lines of

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Weissenburg and Geisberg. The battle of Woerth followed on the 6th, in which the crown prince defeated the army of the Rhine under MacMahon and compelled him to retire on Nancy, while on the same day the Prussian center reoccupied Saarbrücken, and took the French town of Forbach. Nothing was left to the French then but to fall back along the whole line. Marshal Bazaine assumed command of the French at Metz, while MacMahon and Canrobert endeavored to rally and reconstruct their broken battalions while retreating on the Moselle. The news of these disasters in Paris enforced the resignation of the Ollivier ministry, while a new cabinet was formed under General Montauban, Count of Palikao. The Germans left the French little or no time to recover from the shock of the first disasters. They occupied Nancy, laid siege to Strassburg, and while considerable numbers pressed on in pursuit of MacMahon, the main mass was directed against Bazaine and the troops before Metz. Here three famous battles were fought, Von Steinmetz gaining the battle of Courcelles on August 14, Prince Frederick Charles that of Vionville on August 16, and the combined forces of these generals under the king in person winning that of Gravelotte on the 18th. These defeats in succession prevented Bazaine from continuing his retreat to the westward and forced him to shut himself up in the district round Metz. The emperor had managed to leave Bazaine on the 14th and join MacMahon at Châlons two days after. MacMahon then started northwards with his army in an endeavor to effect a junction with Bazaine, but in consequence of the slowness of his movement he was unable to effect his object. Bazaine, closely watched by Prince Frederick Charles, made a sortie from Metz in the hope of breaking through the Prussian lines and marching to effect a junction with MacMahon, but his efforts to escape were ineffective. In the meantime the Crown Prince of Prussia had occupied Chalons and was pressing forward in pursuit of MacMahon, whom he overtook and defeated near Beaumont, between Mouzon and Moulins, on August 30, partial engagements having taken place at Bugancy on the 27th and Stenay on the 29th, in which the French were defeated. On the 31st, while Bazaine was endeavoring to break out from Metz to join MacMahon a second time, the Germans entered Carignan, and after defeating the French on the plains of Douzy, compelled MacMahon to fall back on Sedan. The encounter was renewed before Sedan on September 1. MacMahon had his thigh

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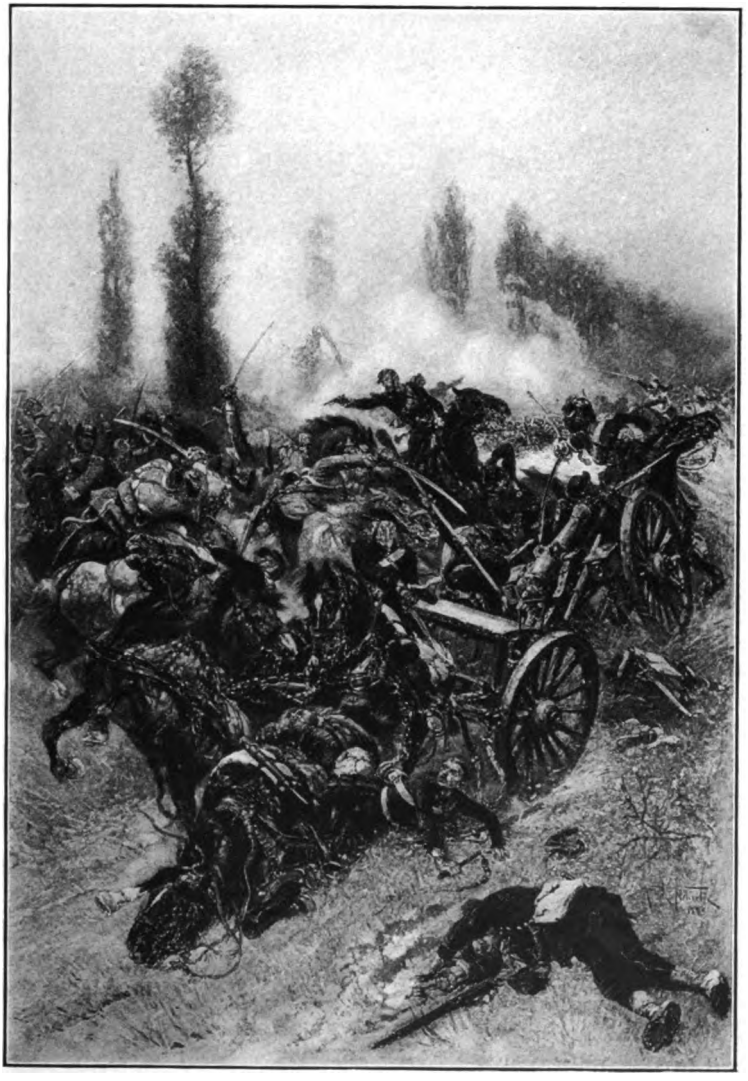

EPISODE DURING THE BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTE
Painting by Alphonse de Neuville

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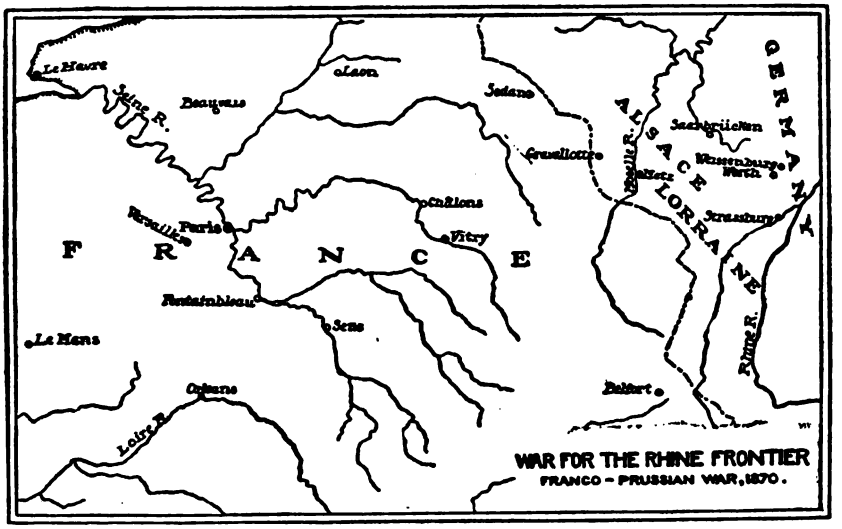
broken in the action, and after a gallant struggle for many hours against superior numbers the French became completely demoralized by their repeated defeats, and the emperor, who had in vain sought death at the head of his troops during the battle, to save the remnants of the French armies which were huddled together in confused masses in and about Sedan, resolved to give up his sword to the King of Prussia. Terms of capitulation were accordingly arranged by General Wimpffen, on whom the command of the French had now devolved, and the emperor, after a brief interview with the King of Prussia at the Château of Bellevue, was sent by



the latter to Wilhelmshohe, near Cassel, where he was to remain a prisoner of war till the conclusion of the contest.

Alarmed, and justly so, by the rapid advance of the Germans after Woerth and the continued reverses of the armies in the field, energetic measures were taken for the defense and victualing of Paris by General Trochu as early as August 18, the general having been appointed governor of the city on the preceding day. On September 3 universal consternation, which subsequently deepened into a feeling of excitement against the emperor, was paramount in Paris on the reception of the news of the defeat of MacMahon, the capitulation of Sedan and the surrender of the emperor as a prisoner of war. These disasters, however, were not formally acknowl-

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edged by the government until the following day, when they were announced to the legislative assembly by the Count of Palikao. The republican party were not slow to seek to profit by the emperor's misfortune, and Jules Favre, while proposing to continue the struggle to the utmost, took occasion to make an attack on the dynasty, and proposed the concentration of power in the hands of General Trochu. At the suggestion of Thiers the chamber proceeded to appoint a commission of government and national defense, and ordered the convocation of a constituent assembly. But the Parisians, stung by the defeats and disgraces that had marked the short campaign, were already shouting for the dethronement of the emperor and a renewal of the republic, and a considerable crowd burst into the hall in which the deputies were deliberating, insisting on the acceptance of their demands. Most of the deputies retired, but Jules Favre, Gambetta and other members of the extreme left proclaimed the deposition of the imperial dynasty and the establishment of the republic. The government, apparently paralyzed and helpless, took no steps to retrieve the position. General Trochu accepted the offer made to him by Jules Favre and his colleagues to assume the presidency of the provisional government of defense. As the evening drew on, Ollivier, the Count of Palikao and other members of their respective cabinets quitted Paris in haste, and the empress, deserted by all, fled from the city in disguise and made her way to England, where she was joined by the prince imperial, who before the slaughter and surrender of Sedan had been sent in haste by his father across the frontier into Belgium. So ended the second empire, on September 4, 1870, just seventeen years and nine months after its establishment.

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Chapter XXVIII

THE THIRD REPUBLIC. 1870-1906

THE third republic, like the first and second, was the offspring of war and revolution. The empire had fallen at Sedan; the provisional government was the work of a handful of deputies, the representatives of the department of the Seine, who assumed to act for the country at large and proclaimed the republic. Although the title adopted for the government—"Government of National Defense"—indicated that it was but a makeshift, until it had received the sanction of France it was clearly revolutionary and it was not at all certain what might be the attitude of foreign governments towards so irresponsible a body. Jules Favre, who acted as minister of foreign affairs, in a circular letter of September 6, 1870, threw the responsibility of the war on the emperor and declared that France would not surrender "an inch of its soil nor a stone of its fortresses." As Favre assumed that Germany did not make war upon France, but upon the emperor, he anticipated overtures of peace, now that the empire had fallen. He was, however, thoroughly undeceived by the circular letter of Bismarck, dated at Rheims, September 13, proclaiming the purpose of Germany to protect its southern border by retaining the French fortresses that had hitherto been a menace to it. This was Bismarck's answer to Favre's attempt to open negotiations through the medium of England. On September 12 Thiers had set out from Paris on his famous pilgrimage through Europe, led by the vain hope that some of the powers might be induced to interfere in behalf of France. He visited London, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Florence, but returned empty-handed. Before the results of Thiers's efforts were known Favre had had a meeting with Bismarck at Ferrières, September 19 and 20, and had endeavored to arrange an armistice. As conditions of a suspension of hostilities for three weeks, making possible the election and meeting of a national assembly, Bismarck demanded the possession of Bitsch, Toul, Strassburg and the fort of Mont Valérien near Paris. The garrison

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of Strassburg were to be surrendered as prisoners of war. "You forget, count, that you are speaking to a Frenchman!" was Favre's indignant answer.

On the very day that the meeting occurred at Ferrières, the Germans took Châtillon and the siege of Paris began. Anticipating this fact, the provisional government had sent three of its members to Tours the second week in September, and into the hands of this delegation the government of France outside Paris was to fall. It was not equal to the demands made upon it. The large cities of the south—Lyons, Marseilles and Bordeaux—dominated by the socialists, were going their own way, and the evil of foreign invasion seemed about to be doubled by that of anarchy. Elections for a national assembly had been set for October 16 by the Paris government, but afterwards countermanded. The delegation at Tours, incapable of resisting the pressure brought to bear by the radical forces of the south, reaffirmed the first decree. A strong hand was needed. Paris was already shut in by the Germans, but Gambetta made his escape in a balloon on October 6, reached Tours in safety and assumed control of affairs. He was practically dictator. The elections were again suspended and his vigorous measures soon put an end to the disorders in the south.

On October 27 France experienced the second great disaster of the war in the capitulation of Metz. One hundred and seventy-three thousand men, including three marshals and six thousand officers, went into captivity. It mattered little whether Bazaine had been false to France and had sullied the honor of a soldier by his too speedy surrender, the fact remained that his deed had shattered the hopes that rested upon the possibility of relieving Metz and making its army the center of the reorganized forces. There was now nothing to distract attention from beleaguered Paris, and all the resources of Gambetta and his associates were concentrated in the supreme effort to bring it relief. The effort was in vain. The raw levies of the French, numerous as they were, were no match for the seasoned and thoroughly trained soldiers of the German armies. One army after another was defeated; the sorties of the Paris garrison were disastrous; the outcome of the situation was never in doubt. After a bombardment of a month, threatened with starvation, Paris capitulated January 28, 1871. The armistice was to last until the noon of February 19 to permit the elections to take place for a national assembly. The forts of Paris were sur-

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1871

rendered to the Germans, and all the garrison, except one division of the army and the national guards, were disarmed.

The elections took place on February 8, and the 13th of the same month, at Bordeaux, Jules Favre relinquished to the assembly the authority that had been temporarily exercised by the "Government of National Defense." The assembly was largely composed of country gentlemen, supporters of the monarchy, but chiefly intent on making peace and ridding France of the Germans. The most prominent man in the assembly was Thiers, and it was quite natural that he should be elected "head of the executive power," with authority to choose his own ministers. The republic was not proclaimed, but it was declared that "the nation's decision as to the definite form of government would be awaited." Thiers selected his ministers from the moderate deputies and announced that his only programme was to make a satisfactory peace, reorganize the country and revive its credit. By this statement, the so-called "Compact of Bordeaux," it was understood that he pledged himself to make no use of his power to favor any one party or form of government.

Thiers at once returned to Versailles to begin with Bismarck the negotiations for the final peace. An agreement was at last reached February 26, 1871. France was to pay five billion francs and surrender Alsace-Lorraine, together with the fortress of Metz. Bismarck had originally demanded Belfort, but had agreed to withdraw that claim if the German troops were allowed the satisfaction of entering Paris and remaining there until the assembly had ratified the action of Thiers. March 1 the assembly accepted the terms that Thiers had brought to Bordeaux, and the same night the telegraph flashed the news to Paris. The following day Bismarck was officially notified, and on March 3 the Germans, who had entered Paris March 1, withdrew from the city.

The preliminaries having been accepted, the negotiations for the final treaty began in Brussels in March. They were interrupted for a time by the struggle with the commune, renewed at Frankfort in May, and the treaty was finally signed at Frankfort May 20, 1871. Germany bought the railroads in the ceded territory for 325,000,000 francs and consented to renounce the commercial treaty of 1862 upon which it had insisted at Brussels.

After voting for peace at Bordeaux, the assembly had adjourned to Versailles. The government had passed a few days at

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Paris, but had retreated before the communal revolution. The fratricidal struggle that followed between the insurrectionists of Paris and the national government at Versailles filled two months. The German army looked curiously on.

The uprising was due to the conditions resulting from the long siege and to the socialistic ideas of some of the leaders of the Paris populace. During the siege the payment of rents and of debts had been suspended by order of the provisional government, and national guardsmen had received a franc and a half each day. The assembly permitted again the collection of rents and debts, before Paris had returned to normal economic conditions, and deprived the guardsmen of their stipend unless they presented proof of actual need. Add to this the fear on the part of the masses that this royalist assembly was about to overthrow the republic, and it becomes evident that Paris was ripe for revolution. The national guard had not been disarmed and the battalions of the suburbs, seizing a park of artillery that was not properly protected, had drawn the pieces to Montmarte and there stood guard over them.

As early as March 13 a central committee of the guards had been formed, under the influence of the socialist leaders that were to play a prominent rôle during the commune. For several days the government allowed matters to take their course. On the morning of the 18th the Parisians awoke to find the streets in the vicinity of Montmarte in the possession of the regular troops. All things but one had been provided for—there were no horses to drag the cannon away. While this defect was being made good the national guards had time to gather and offer resistance. The troops proved unreliable, fraternizing with the insurrectionists and permitting them to seize General Leconte and some of his officers. Later General Clément Thomas, in command of the national guard of Paris, fell into their hands. Both generals were taken at once before a so-called council of war, condemned to death and shot. The committee of the insurrectionists then took possession of the Hôtel de Ville. They met with practically no opposition from the national government, that considered itself fortunate to be able to withdraw its troops from the city before all discipline had disappeared.

Some resistance was, however, attempted by the conservative citizens of Paris. The national guards of the well-to-do districts made a demonstration in favor of law and order, but it led only to a massacre and a victory for the insurrectionists. The mayors of

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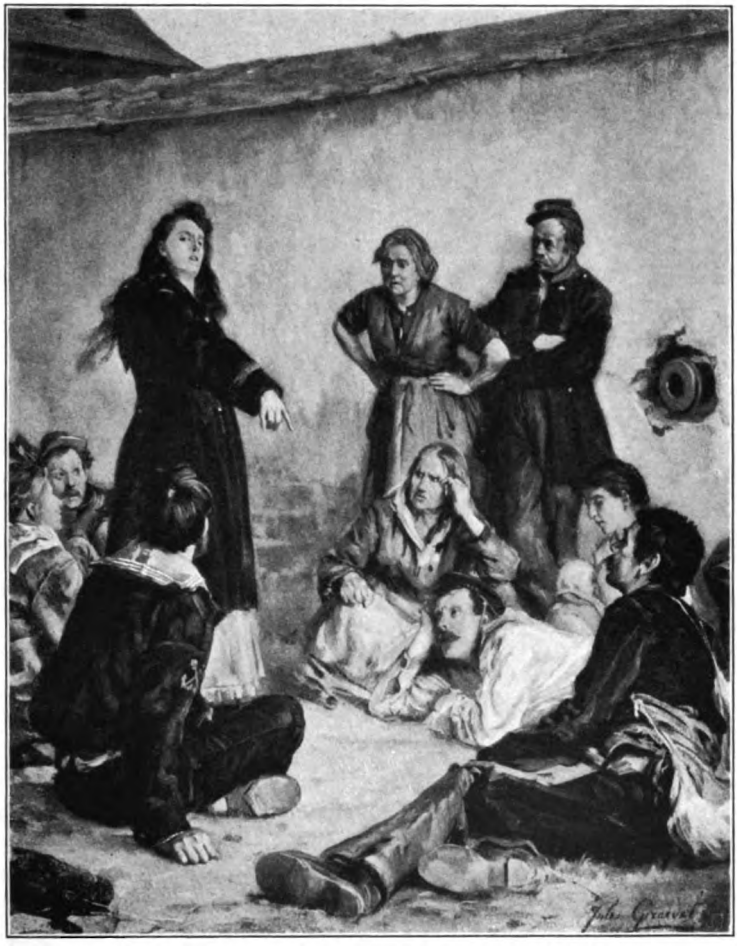

A PETROLEUSE HARANGUING HER COMRADES TO INCENDIARISM
DURING THE REIGN OF THE COMMUNE IN PARIS
Painting by F. J. Girardet

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1871

the various quarters of Paris sought to mediate between the government at Versailles and the group at the Hôtel de Ville. They obtained a delay in the collection of rents and debts, the right of the national guard to elect their own officers, and the election of the communal council of Paris by universal suffrage. In the elections that took place March 26 the supporters of the central committee secured a strong majority in the council, and the conservatives that had been elected refused to sit. The rupture was complete. The national government had abandoned Paris, not even supporting the national guards who had opposed the insurrection, had evacuated the forts about the city and concentrated its troops around Versailles, to defend the assembly.

The government of Paris was now assumed by the council, but the central committee continued to sit, "in order," as it said, "to serve as a link between the commune and the national guard." The national guards favorable to the government at Versailles were disarmed, compulsory military service for all able-bodied men was established, and the acts of the "Versailles government" were declared void. The commune adopted the revolutionary calendar and the red flag, but it had no definite socialistic programme. It appealed through proclamations and delegates to the other cities of France, urging them to follow the example of Paris and establish absolute communal autonomy. "The unity of France" would thus be assured by the association of "the communes adherent to the contract"; each commune should be sovereign, and the communes should be united by a federal tie. Marseilles, Toulouse, Lyons and a few other cities attempted to follow the example of Paris, but outside of the capital the disturbances were of but short duration and of slight consequence.

The commune never possessed a properly organized government. Ten committees had been appointed, but the direction of affairs was in the hands of an "executive committee" of nine delegated from the other committees. "Each of the nine took the title of minister, as if he were at the head of a department." Exercising an absolute authority in civil and military affairs, the commune employed for the conduct of its business revolutionary journalists and club orators. In some of the offices day laborers were installed, men entirely unknown and never elected to membership in the commune. Little time was given for sober thought concerning social reforms, even had the men in control of the city government been

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capable of it; the revolutionary government from its very inception was forced to fight for its life against the assembly at Versailles.

At the outset the communists took the initiative and attempted to attack Versailles. It had an army of 194,000 men and 8500 officers. With this force and in possession of the forts that the government had evacuated, it took the offensive on April 2 and 3. The troops of the commune were driven back with great slaughter. One thousand prisoners were taken, conducted to Versailles, tried by a court-martial and shot. All through the struggle Thiers refused to recognize the insurrectionists as belligerents. So serious at this time did the danger attendant upon self-government by the cities of France seem to him that he threatened to resign if the assembly did not place the power of appointing mayors in cities of more than twenty thousand inhabitants in the hands of the national executive.

Although MacMahon was substituted for Vinoy April 3, 1871, in command of the national troops, it was not until April 25 that the government abandoned its defensive attitude. On that day 128 batteries opened fire on the forts and walls of Paris. The bombardment lasted for two weeks. May 9 the fort of Issy was taken, May 14 that of Vanves and May 16 Montrouges. These successes only served to increase the fury of the insurrectionists. As the struggle became more desperate, the leadership fell into the hands of the more daring and unscrupulous. Treason and conspiracy were suspected in all quarters; a committee of public safety sprang into existence by the side of the central committee and the council of the commune; wholesale arrests were made and acts of violence increased; the Vendôme Column was overthrown and the house of Thiers was gutted. It was even proposed in the council on May 20 that when the government troops entered Paris all the public buildings of the city should be destroyed by fire.

On May 21 and 22, 1871, the troops entered the city. For four days and five nights the battle raged in the streets of Paris. Then the threats of destruction previously made were carried out. On the night of the 23d flames broke out from the Tuileries and the Louvre. In a short time fires had been set in the Palais Royal, the prefecture, the Hôtel de Ville, the various ministries, in churches, cloisters, stores and railroad stations. Many of these were saved, but some of the most valuable historical buildings of Paris, including the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville, were destroyed. In the mad-

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1871

ness of the last hours Archbishop Darboy and other distinguished persons who had been seized as hostages were put to death.

The loss on both sides was serious. How many thousand perished will never be known. Some twenty-five thousand prisoners were taken, and for five years the court-marshal was engaged in passing judgment upon them. A few were executed, several thousand were exiled or deported, and twenty thousand released. The commune was completely crushed and the assembly could now turn its attention to the reorganization of France.

The political situation of France at the close of the war was decidedly anomalous. The empire had been abolished, but nothing definite had taken its place. An assembly elected without term, a president also serving for an indefinite term, responsible to the assembly, his own prime minister, but surrounded by a cabinet of his own choice, these were the temporary organs of the central government. What the outcome would be no man could foretell. For a few months, however, the question of what form the government should assume was subordinated to the more important question of the evacuation of the country by the German troops. They were to remain until the indemnity was paid, and to meet this claim at once was the serious task that Thiers set himself. The problem was solved with a rapidity that filled Europe with astonishment and admiration. Two loans were made, one in June, 1871, for 2,000,000,000, another in July for 3,000,000,000 francs, and were subscribed for many times over. It was a magnificent display of the resources and of the patriotism of the French people and of the confidence of foreign capitalists in the future of France. The operations were not concluded until 1873, a short time after Thiers had retired from the presidency. In September of that year the last German soldier marched over the frontier, and France was free once more. For some time the government of the country showed the effects of foreign and civil war. The large cities remained in a state of siege and an arbitrary authority was exercised over the press. The municipal law, passed in 1871, allowing all cities with less than twenty thousand inhabitants to elect their mayors, but for cities with a larger population placing the appointment in the hands of the executive, was an indication of the impression that the communistic uprising had made upon Thiers. In the same year a departmental law increased the powers of the departmental councils, thus taking the first step in the direction of a much-needed

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decentralization. The lesson taught by the war, the self-evident superiority of the Prussian military system, led to the abolition, in 1871, of the national guard, and the reorganization of the army on the Prussian model, but with a five-year service. It was the beginning of the armed peace for Europe.

Until the passage of the Rivet-Vitet measure in August, 1871, Thiers with the title, "head of the executive power," occupied a unique position in the government. He formulated his own policy and defended it personally before the assembly to which he was responsible, often occupying the tribune several times during the same session. His ministerial experience, his reputation as a historian, and his remarkable oratorical powers left him without a rival. Supported by the belief that his policy would receive the approval of posterity, he announced his indifference to the criticism of his opponents in the assembly. Thiers was intolerant of opposition to his policies, and on one occasion when the assembly had rejected a financial measure to which he had given his support he sent in his resignation. He reconsidered his action only when the assembly appealed to his patriotism, assuring him that their vote had no political significance and in no way reflected upon him.

Important as were the measures that the assembly had passed, the foundation of peace was lacking until France had been given a definite government. Thiers had pledged himself at Bordeaux not to work in the interest of any particular form of government, but the republic was slipping into existence because of this very negative policy. The longer the restoration of the monarchy was deferred, the more France became accustomed to republican forms, and the more difficult of realization became the plan of the monarchists. The delay was due to the inability to agree upon an occupant for the throne. All attempts to reconcile the legitimists with the Orleanists had been in vain. The Orleanists were ready to recognize the Count of Chambord as king on condition that he should acknowledge the Count of Paris as his successor, reign as a constitutional king, and accept the tricolored flag in place of the white flag of the Bourbons. The negotiations had, up to the end of Thiers's ministry, proved fruitless. The assembly had cleared the way for any action towards the princes that might seem desirable by annulling the decree of banishment that had been passed against them under the empire and by restoring to the Orleanists the property that had been confiscated.

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The Rivet-Vitet law of August 31, 1871, conferred upon Thiers the title, "President of the French Republic." He was to continue to exercise his functions as long as the assembly existed, each of his acts was to be countersigned by a minister, but—strange contradiction—he himself continued to be held responsible to the assembly. The republicans of the left voted against this measure, as it affirmed the constituent power of the assembly, an attribute that they had constantly denied to that body. Although the royalists did not want the republic, they did wish to display the constituent power of the assembly, in order that they might be justified in using it to establish the monarchy when the opportunity offered itself.

Both republicans and Bonapartists had demanded dissolution and an appeal to the country, the republicans judging from the supplementary elections that the majority of the voters were in favor of a republican form of government. In the summer of 1872, during the parliamentary recess, Gambetta addressed the people in various parts of France, criticising the course of the assembly. At Grenoble, September 26, he declared that "the country after having tried many forms of government, wishes at last to appeal to another social stratum and to experiment with the republic." He counseled moderation and added that "the employment of force would be a crime under a régime sprung from universal suffrage. He expected nothing," he said, "except from time, from persuasion, from the force of things, from the impotence, the sterility, and cowardice of the monarchical parties." He then concluded: "Dissolution is there like the grave-digger, ready to throw the last clod of earth on the corpse of the assembly of Versailles." The constitutional or conservative republic of Thiers he regarded as "an ignoble comedy."

The life of the assembly was, however, in its own hands, and the monarchists, possessing a majority, showed no desire to play into the hands of their opponents by agreeing to a dissolution. In December, 1872, Thiers committed himself frankly to the republic, declaring that "it exists, that it is the legal government of the country; to desire anything else would be a new revolution and the most redoubtable of all." The royalists charged him with violating the "Compact of Bordeaux," and the friction between them steadily increased. The task of ruling with a ministry formed from the groups in the assembly, exclusive of the republicans desiring disso-

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lution and the monarchists opposed to a republic, was ever more difficult. A resolution passed by the assembly March 13, 1873, deprived Thiers of a large part of his influence by excluding him from the debates of the assembly. If he wished to address that body he must announce his purpose in a message; the assembly, after listening to him, must then adjourn, no debate being permitted in the presence of the president. Thiers was much nettled by this act, characterized it as *chinoiserie,* making it impossible for him to communicate effectively with the assembly, but he continued to hold office.

The end soon came for him. The growth of republicanism in the country and the election of republicans to the assembly were laid at his door. The government was not sufficiently conservative, it was said. There were signs of the coming storm, and they did not escape Thiers. In November, 1872, before he had been excluded from the tribune, divining the intrigues that prepared his overthrow, he had said audaciously to the majority: "Do you wish a slave here, a hireling to do your will, who, to keep his place for a few days more, will always be your courtier? Then, by Heaven, choose him! . . . There are enough of them." When the assembly met in May, 1873, after the vacation, the right opened the attack upon the president by means of the following interpellation: "The undersigned, convinced that the gravity of the situation demands, at the head of affairs, a cabinet whose firmness reassures the country, asks to be permitted to interpellate the ministry upon the recent changes that have taken place in their body and upon the necessity of introducing into the government a more resolutely conservative policy." The reply of the ministry was to lay before the assembly a project for the organization of the government. The assembly refused to listen to the reading of it. The debate on the interpellation opened on May 23, and on the 24th Thiers appeared in the tribune and for two hours spoke in defense of his policy. "No," he exclaimed in the midst of the applause of the right, "I have no fear for my memory, for I do not expect to be summoned before the tribunal of parties. Before them I shall not present myself. I shall not fail to appear before history, and I deserve a hearing of her." But this was the tribunal of parties, and it rejected the previous question proposed by the government. Thiers resigned, and his resignation was accepted. In the same session Marshal MacMahon was elected as his successor. The marshal

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1873

at once called upon Thiers and, much disturbed in mind, asked him if it was permissible for him to accept the office. "You are the best judge of it," dryly replied Thiers. "If you would promise to reconsider your action and withdraw your resignation, I would refuse." "As to that, Marshal," was the answer, "I have never taken part in a comedy, and I shall not take part in that one."

MacMahon was the candidate of the monarchists, the republicans having refrained from voting. He remained in office until 1876. During his presidency an attempt to restore the monarchy that promised much failed, and in 1875 the constitutional laws were passed that finally established the republic. The monarchists made a last desperate effort to retain control of the government, although in the minority, but the elections went against them and MacMahon resigned, and the republic passed into the hands of the republicans.

The successor of Thiers was a monarchist and a supporter of the Orleanist party. It was well understood when MacMahon was elected that he was ready to lay down his authority whenever the assembly should vote for the restoration of one of the claimants to the throne. In the fall of 1873 it was generally believed that the restoration would really be accomplished. The Count of Paris visited the Count of Chambord at Frohsdorf in Austria, in August, 1873. The representative of the younger line made his submission, and the elder agreed to recognize the Count of Paris as his legitimate successor. It still remained to satisfy the Orleanist party as to the nature of the government that would be instituted by the restored Bourbons. This difficulty promised also to receive a satisfactory solution. A committee of nine, chosen by the monarchist members of the right and the right center, or the Bourbonists and Orleanists in the assembly, negotiated during the month of August with the Count of Chambord concerning the constitution and the tricolored flag, and finally sent a representative to Frohsdorf to communicate directly with the count. The negotiations were successful. It was agreed that after the assembly had recognized the royal hereditary right of the Count of Chambord that a charter, not imposed upon the assembly by the count, should be agreed upon by the assembly and the king, thus recognizing the rights of both. The bases of the charter were to be the collective exercise of the legislative power by the king and the two chambers, the attribution of the executive power to the king, the inviolability of his person and the respon-

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sibility of the ministers. In addition to all this, civil and religious liberty, equality before the law, free access of all citizens to civil and military offices, the annual vote of the budget by the representatives of the nation would be stipulated. "As to the flag," ran the agreement, "the Count of Chambord, who respects the sentiment of the army for a flag stained with the blood of our soldiers, who has never been an alien to the glories and to the sufferings of the country, who has never had the intention of humiliating either his country or the flag under which our soldiers have fought so valiantly, admits the following statement: The tricolored flag is maintained; it may be modified only as the result of an agreement between the king and the assembly."

Apparently nothing remained but to proclaim the monarchy. The committee of nine prepared the programme; the members of the right and of the right center accepted it and prepared to proclaim the Count of Chambord as Henry V.; Marshal MacMahon announced publicly that he had "been elected by the majority of the conservatives and that he should not separate himself from them,"—in other words, if they voted to restore the monarchy, he would offer no resistance. In the last days of October the restoration was momentarily expected; the carriages were bought that were to conduct the king to Nôtre Dame. That nothing came of all this was due to a letter written by the Count of Chambord, October 27, 1873, to Chesnelong, one of the seven delegates to Frohsdorf. A garbled account of the agreement between himself and the seven had been published, and the future king wished to set himself straight with the public. It was "pretended that he had consented to become the legitimate king of the revolution," and he felt that "he owed the whole truth to this country by which he might be misunderstood, but that renders homage to his sincerity, because it knows that he had never deceived it and never would deceive it." He did not declare that he would not accept the tricolor, nor did he recall anything that he had previously promised, but the whole letter had such an uncertain ring to it that it aroused the suspicions of the Orleanists. They feared that they were about to assist at a restoration that would lack constitutional restraints and that would not maintain the flag of the revolution. Stormy scenes passed between the right and the right center. The two groups finally agreed to continue to control the government and to leave open the way for a restoration in the future by conferring the presidency

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upon MacMahon for ten years. They made some concession to public demands for a constitution by proposing the nomination of a committee of thirty for the examination of any constitutional laws that might be proposed.

The debate upon a term of ten years for MacMahon that opened November 5 in the assembly lasted until the 20th of the same month. Grévy taunted the right with wanting a monarchy that they could not have and refusing to organize a republic that they were able to form. The result of the debate was a compromise. MacMahon's power was fixed for seven years, "to be exercised with the title of president of the republic under the present conditions, until changes have been made in them by the constitutional laws." Three days after the publication of this law the committee of thirty was to be elected. It was under such conditions that the constitutional term of office of the president of the French republic was fixed at seven years.

Until January, 1875, the committee of thirty accomplished nothing. It was elected to kill time and to prevent the formation of a constitution, and for more than a year it kept within its rôle. The government was still a provisional one. A portion of the assembly looked upon the septennate as "the vestibule to the republic, another portion as the vestibule to the monarchy." The Orleanist party, in control of the presidency through Marshal MacMahon, attempted to get control of the chamber by a new Electoral Law limiting the franchise. The measure was defeated by a union of the legitimists and the republicans. A new ministry was thereupon formed, dominated by Bonapartists. They governed in such a way as to strengthen their party and to arouse the fears of the monarchists of the Orleanist group that allied themselves with the republicans, and forced a consideration of the constitutional laws, so long delayed.

The three laws passed in February and July, 1875, constitute the so-called Constitution of 1875, by which France is now governed. The central government consists of a president, senate, and chamber of deputies. The president is elected by the senate and assembly in combined session for a term of seven years. He is the irresponsible head of the state, acting through his ministers, who are responsible to the senate and chamber. With the approval of the senate he may dissolve the chamber. While the president has the right to appoint the ministers, in practice he has simply

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chosen the representatives of the parliamentary majority in the chamber.

The senate consists of three hundred members, three-fourths chosen by electoral colleges in the departments, for nine years—one-third replaced every three years; one-fourth was originally selected for life by the chamber, and vacancies caused by death were to be filled by the senate itself. The senate can take the initiative in introducing all measures except those dealing with the budget, and has a veto power on the action of the chamber. It sits as a high court of justice to try ministers and others charged with high treason.

The chamber is elected by universal suffrage and is renewed as a whole every four years. It has a legal right to one session of five months each year. The president may adjourn the chamber for a month, but not more than twice in one session.

The constitution may be revised by the two houses sitting together as a national assembly, but the revision can take place only when two houses have voted separately to hold the joint meeting.

The constituent assembly elected one-fourth of the senators, and when the elections for the remaining three-fourths and for the chamber had taken place in January and February, 1876, the new constitution went into effect March 8, 1876. The national assembly had closed its last session December 31, 1875, having remained in power for five years.

The majority in the new chamber was republican; the senate had a small monarchical majority, while the president was a monarchist. The republic had been established, but the attempt was to be made to administer it without republicans. The struggle between MacMahon, supported by the senate, and the chamber, lasted for three years. The president selected a ministry from the conservative republicans, but insisted on keeping three places—war, navy and foreign affairs—out of politics. The chamber demanded the removal of officials hostile to the republic, but this was only partially conceded. The freedom of the press was reëstablished; the interference of the government in elections was offset by the rejection of deputies that had been elected through official aid; in 1876 an act was passed restoring to municipal councils the right of electing the mayor, except in the case of the chief town of each canton. Because of the interference of the clergy in politics, the chamber prepared bills to exclude them from teaching in the primary schools, to deprive the Catholic universities of the right of prepar-

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1876-1879

ing students for state examinations, and refused to vote money for military almoners. The crisis was reached in May, 1877.

The president had accepted a republican ministry, but he consulted his old ministers and continued to receive the advice of the conservatives, as the former monarchists were now called. Acting on their advice, he dismissed the republican ministry, May 16, 1877, took a conservative ministry, adjourned the chamber for a month, and then, with the consent of the senate, dissolved it. The plan of the president and his party was to make use of the power they possessed to manipulate the elections and thus obtain a conservative majority in the chamber. To obtain more time for preparation, the ministry violated the constitution, extending by three weeks the period within which the constitution required that the electors should meet. "It changed at a stroke the whole administrative body and appointed new fighting officials; it embarrassed by prohibitions or prosecutions the sale of republican journals, political meetings, and agitation for the republic; it suspended republican municipal councils, substituting for them municipal commissioners. At the elections it presented official candidates, indorsed by the president of the republic, and published presidential manifestoes to the French people." The republicans forgot their differences and united to resist the attack of the conservatives on the republic. "They posed as defenders of the republic against the revolutionary coalition of monarchists and clergy—as defenders of the sovereignty of the people against the personal power of the president." It was in this campaign that Gambetta pronounced the famous phrase: "Our foe is clericalism." In the elections the republicans obtained a majority of the deputies. The ministry resigned. MacMahon selected a conservative ministry outside of the chamber, but the chamber refused to recognize it. The advisers of the president counseled a *coup d'état,* but he refused to go to such extremes, and finally submitted, accepting a republican ministry, December, 1877. This was the overthrow of the conservative party. The officials dismissed in May were restored to office, and fifty elections, made under administrative or clerical pressure, were annulled. MacMahon remained in office a year longer, but when the renewal of one-third of the senate gave the republicans a majority in that body, he resigned and was succeeded in January, 1879, by Jules Grévy, a radical republican. Since that time the republicans have remained in control of the government.

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The choice by the national assembly of Grévy was approved both by France and by Europe. It seemed manifest that the most worthy had been raised to the supreme magistracy. The new president was seventy-two years of age at the time of his election. One of the most distinguished members of the Paris bar, an orator of unusual ability, and a staunch republican, he was the natural choice for the high office that now passed for the first time into the hands of the republicans.

Among the first acts of the new government were the transfer of the chambers from Versailles to Paris (June, 1880), and the institution of the annual celebration of July 14—the date of the taking of the Bastile. It announced a programme of reforms, including freedom of the press and of public meetings, universal elections of mayors by municipal councils, purchase of all railroads by the state, and free and compulsory primary education by lay teachers. This last measure was aimed at the church. Ferry, minister of public instruction, presented in 1880 a measure relating to Catholic universities, the seventh article of which forbade members of unauthorized religious orders to teach in secondary schools. When the bill reached the senate, more conservative than the chamber, this article was struck out. The government called out of abeyance certain old laws against "unauthorized congregations," and ordered all such bodies to disperse. When they refused to obey they were expelled by force.

From 1880 to 1886 several important measures that served to strengthen the republic were passed. Education was rendered compulsory, free and by lay teachers; complete freedom of the press and complete liberty of public meeting were established. In 1884 a partial revision of the constitution abolishing the life members in the senate was agreed to by that body. As vacancies occurred in the senate they were to be filled by the election of senators for the nine-year term, the election to be by departments. Measures that for some time had been demanded by the radicals—amnesty for the proscribed communists and the removal of conservative judges—were passed during this period. After the elections of 1881 the republican majorities were so large both in the senate and the chamber that the conservative party gave up the political contest. It was in this same year that Gambetta, who had been president of the chamber, was called upon to form a cabinet. His first mistake was to compose his ministry from men of his own group and to ignore

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the leaders of the other groups composing the republican majority. He had already aroused the hostility of the extreme left by his lordly bearing, his authoritative language, and his practice of surrounding himself with his personal followers. When he proposed to revise the constitution and make the vote by general ticket an article of the constitution, the discontented of the right and left, moved probably more by personal sentiment than by sound reasons, united to overthrow him. Gambetta's ministry had lasted from November, 1881, to January, 1882. He died in December of the same year.

As time went on, the majority of the republicans grew more conservative, and even compromised upon many of the reforms that had constituted their original programme. A division took place in their ranks, the supporters of Gambetta and of a conservative republican policy being dubbed "Opportunists" by the extreme left, to whom the name "Radicals" was given. This latter group had adopted many of the reforms that had been abandoned by the majority of the republicans. They demanded the withdrawal from the senate of the right of voting the budget and of dissolving the chamber, the separation of church and state, and the establishment of an income tax. They also opposed the colonial policy represented by Jules Ferry, the head of one of the longest-lived cabinets that had existed under the republic. Ferry's policy of forming a new colonial empire for France was little appreciated, and the opposition took advantage of unfavorable war news from Tonking to force him to resign (May, 1885).

In the electoral campaign of this year, 1885, the opportunists were opposed by the radicals and the conservatives. The questions at issue show the changed nature of the political contest. It was no longer a question of the form of government, but of policies. In addition to its foreign or colonial policy, the financial policy of the ministry was the object of criticism. The yearly expenditures had exceeded the annual revenues. The government had made no attempt to maintain a balanced budget, but had spent money freely for railroads, school buildings, and for colonial expeditions. The commercial crisis of 1882, by decreasing the revenue, rendered the situation worse than it otherwise would have been. The conservatives being united, while the republicans had two tickets in the field, and the use of the general ticket for the first time being favorable to the conservatives, the government lost many seats.

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In the new chamber the republicans had a majority when they were united, and the first policy tried was that of the so-called "republican concentration," or government by a ministry drawn from all the republican groups. Such a ministry necessarily abandoned all attempts at positive reforms and devoted their efforts to the establishment of a balanced budget and the settling up of the Tonking affair.

In December, 1885, Grévy's first term expired and he was re-elected for a second term of seven years. During the first year of his new term the man sprang into public notice who was to gather a motley party about him and for a short time terrify France with the specter of a military dictatorship. Boulanger was simply a military adventurer and an unscrupulous politician. The party opposed to Ferry's colonial policy, who called themselves the "patriots," because they wanted a war for revenge with Germany to recover Alsace-Lorraine, had taken him up. In 1886 the radicals made Boulanger minister of war, but he was dismissed with the return of the opportunists to power in the same year (1886). This party continued its agitation during the two succeeding years, and finally during the Wilson scandal and the forced resignation of Grévy the attempt was made by the patriots to fish in troubled waters. Wilson, the son-in-law of the president, was found guilty of trafficking in offices and in the decorations of the Legion of Honor. Grévy was slow to see the bearing of the revelation, and did not abandon Wilson. The chamber forced Grévy to resign, and his second presidency came to a lamentable end.

During the days of indecision, while Grévy wavered and the question of his successor was being agitated, the "patriots" endeavored to retain Grévy in office, fearful of the man fixed upon as his successor,—Jules Ferry,—and were untiring in their efforts to arouse a public demonstration in Paris in favor of Boulanger. When Grévy finally did resign, it was found impossible to elect Ferry. It is true that he had the support of the majority in the two chambers, but the threats of the radicals and the announcement of the city council that they would not be responsible for order if he were elected, made the choice of another candidate imperative. The choice fell upon Carnot. Immediately after the election of the president the temporary union between the patriots and the radicals came to an end; the latter favored revision, the former were opposed to parliamentary government. They wished to dissolve the

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present chambers and form a government after the model of the republic of 1848, with a president and a single chamber, each responsible to the people.

The followers of Boulanger took the name of "Nationalists" or "Revisionists." Their rallying cry was "Dissolution, revision, constituent assembly." The main thing was to place General Boulanger in power, the rest would follow. They appealed to the conservatives and the Catholics, who joined with them to destroy the constitution. Money for the campaign was supplied by the Count of Paris and the Duchess of Uzès, and the campaign was "promoted by advertising devices similar to those used in commerce; reams of posters, portraits and biographies of General Boulanger, songs in his praise, crowds hired to shout '*Vive le Général Boulanger!*'" Boulanger conducted himself in such a manner that he was excluded from the army. He thereupon managed his campaign openly. Badly received in the chamber to which he had been elected, he set himself the task of obtaining from the country at large a plebiscite in his favor. Whenever a vacancy occurred in the chamber demanding an election, Boulanger appeared as a candidate, and, as on the general ticket the whole department was obliged to vote to fill every vacancy, the demonstration was not insignificant. At an election in Paris in January, 1889, he received 240,000 votes against 165,000. Great things were expected from the general election of 1889. The alarm was widespread throughout France. Abroad, publicists freely predicted that the third republic would not outlive the centenary of the revolution. The outcome offered but another proof of the fallability of human judgment. Before the elections took place the government abolished the general ticket and made it unlawful for a person to present himself as candidate in more than one district. This act was followed by a summons to Boulanger and his fellow-conspirators to present themselves before the senate, constituted as a high court for the trial of offenses against the state. Boulanger escaped in disguise into Belgium, followed by the laughter of his countrymen. The tragedy had been transformed into a comedy. Men breathed freely once more, forgot their past fears, and even wondered if the danger ever had been real. The exposition of 1889 soon consigned the Boulanger incident to forgetfulness.

The grouping of parties to-day in the chamber has little in common with that of fifty years ago. In 1893 a new party made

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its appearance, occupying the extreme left. It was the party of the socialists, representing the new demands of the working classes. The old conservatives have practically disappeared. The right in the assembly has joined the moderates, forming a party of social conservatism resting on the middle and capitalist class, the clergy, and the office-holders. The socialists and the radicals form a party of social reform and appeal to the masses. At present the latter party controls the government. The attempts of the nationalists, the successors of the supporters of Boulanger, aided by the clerical orders, to overthrow the republic at the time of the Dreyfus affair, resulted in failure. The campaign recently carried on by the radicals and socialists against the congregations is the outcome of that affair, but only an incident in the long struggle that the republic has ever prosecuted against the church. The law of 1901 abolished all unauthorized congregations. Although Waldeck-Rousseau resigned before the measures to enforce the law had been carried out, his successor, Combes, adopted his policy, and in his vigorous action against the Catholic orders received the consistent support of the radical and socialist deputies. A general election in 1902 had shown that the majority of the electors were in sympathy with the policy of the government. In this same year several propositions looking to the separation of church and state were laid before the chamber of deputies, and later a commission was selected to receive and examine all such propositions. It was not, however, until the break with the Vatican that the government took any action in the matter. The protest of the Papal secretary at the time of President Loubet's visit to Rome led to the recall of the French ambassador accredited to the Papal government; the strife arising over the interference of the Pope in the bishoprics of Laval and Dijon produced the final rupture between the French government and the Pope. In the same year (1904) Combes laid before the chamber a project for the separation of church and state. It was not sufficiently radical to satisfy the majority. Combes fell and was succeeded by Rouvier, who brought in a measure that passed the assembly July 3, 1905. It was favorably passed upon by the committee of the senate and on December 6 became a law by a vote of 181 to 102. Its final adoption and execution led to the complete secularization of the state and formed an epoch in the religious history of France.

Notwithstanding all the laws that have been passed in the last

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quarter of a century, education is not yet free in France. Only a few grades in the public schools are actually open to all. By the side of this really free education, representing about eight grades, stands another system, extending from the primary school to the university and supported largely by tuition. About half, and the best, of these schools are in the hands of the teaching congregations of the Catholic Church. Here, the republicans claim, the young people of France are filled with sentiments hostile to the republic. The schools must be in the hands of the state, they claim, and taught by lay teachers. The expense has been, in the past, the main obstacle to the development of secular schools. The central government did not build all the schools itself, and the cities and communities throughout France found it more economical to allow the congregations to build the schoolhouses and pay the teachers. The party in power has determined to drive the ecclesiastical teachers from the schools, to spare no expense to secularize education and to remove the last menace to the permanence of the republic. Among the supporters of these measures are men hostile to the church and to religion, but the majority is not influenced by such a policy. Whether the schools can be secularized remains to be seen. In spite of all sinister predictions, the majority continues to support the successors of Waldeck-Rousseau, and the country is evidently favorable to the policy that is being carried out. The length of the ministries of Waldeck-Rousseau and Combes would seem to indicate that parliamentary government in France is becoming more stable. The republic is nearly a quarter of a century old, and though there are still those who declare that France will be happy only under a Cæsar, there are others who believe that the republic has a bright future.

While the republic was being established, France was striving to recover the prestige in Europe that she had lost as a result of the Franco-Prussian war. At the close of the war she was isolated, and it was the policy of Bismarck to keep her so. So long as she remained weak and without allies, little was to be feared from her threats of revenge for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. In 1875 the reorganization and enlargement of the French army was looked upon by Bismarck as a threat to Germany, and a warning was sent to Paris. The countries seemed on the verge of war, this time France being on the defensive. The interference of Russia in behalf of France quieted the rising storm, and was the first indication

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of the *rapprochement* that was to end in the Dual Alliance. Many years were to pass, however, before this alliance took shape.

The republic gave proofs of vitality in its foreign relations by the adoption of a colonial policy that, although lacking consistency and wisdom at first, has made of her at length a great colonial state. Tunis was brought under French domination in 1881, but in 1882 France abandoned Egypt to England by refusing to control the Egyptian government by an appeal to arms. Had Gambetta remained in office, it is doubtful if France would have committed such a blunder. In China, France had begun to acquire territory under the second empire, and the same policy was followed in the East during the ministry of Ferry, resulting in the acquisition of Tonking, and later of contiguous territory. In Africa, France has steadily increased its acquisitions, until the Sahara and the most of the surrounding coast territory are now in its possession. Perhaps none of the colonizing countries of Europe have lands more desirably located than the French possessions in northern Africa. It is here, in truth, that France had done its colonizing. From Marseilles to Algiers is but a short sea voyage, and soon railroads will connect Algeria with all parts of the French territory. The other colonies are less promising, because too remote from the mother country. In these remote colonies the number of Frenchmen outside of office-holders and soldiers is very small. The almost stationary population of France does not supply it with the increase necessary to people these possessions over sea. It is noticable, however, that the excess of births over deaths is much greater in Algeria than in France.

The formation of the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, the hostility towards Germany on the Rhine, towards England in Egypt and Asia, towards Italy in Tunis, naturally led France to draw near to Russia as the only ally that could save her from the isolation into which she had been forced. Nowhere did their interests conflict, and they were the common rivals of England, but in different parts of the world. In 1891 the Czar made open advances to France; a French squadron was received with great solemnity at Kronstadt, and the Czar sent a telegram to the President of the Republic, in which he spoke of "the profound sympathies that unite France and Russia." A Russian loan was opened in France and covered by French subscribers, and in 1893 a Russian squadron was received at Toulon and sent a de-

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tachment of sailors to Paris. Finally, in 1896, Nicholas II. paid a visit to the French capital, and was received with tremendous enthusiasm. For a time the affairs of Europe were dominated by the opposition between the Triple and the Dual Alliances.

At the present moment there are signs of change. The question of Alsace-Lorraine has ceased to dominate French diplomacy. French troops have served under a German field marshal in China (1900); France and Germany united with Russia in forcing Japan to surrender the fruits of the war with China (1895). France has made an arbitration treaty with Italy and is endeavoring to settle with it in a friendly way the interests of the two countries in Africa. France has also made an arbitration treaty with England, and although England was allied with Japan, and Russia was suffering severe reverses at the hands of the island empire during the late war, France did not feel bound to go to its assistance. The overwhelming defeat of Russia by Japan modified the diplomatic situation in Europe. The attempt of France, in alliance with England, to establish a protectorate over Morocco met with an energetic protest from Germany and for a few weeks the war clouds seemed to hang threateningly over Europe. The French ministry refused, however, to support Delcassé in a vigorous policy and forced him to resign his portfolio, after long years of brilliant service. The new policy is one of *rapprochement* with Germany. It is a policy that is prepared to look upon the Alsace-Lorraine incident as closed and refuses to be guided in the future simply by the desire for revenge. The year 1905 marked a turning-point in the diplomatic, as well as in the religious, history of France.

The internal development of France during the last thirty years is even more noteworthy than its foreign policy. The crushing defeat of 1870 had a wholesome effect, and the energy that was freed at that time has not exhausted itself in the reconstruction of the political structure of French society. Looked at from every point of view, the social efficiency of the French people has increased enormously. No nation surpasses it in the care for the soil and in the industries connected with it. France can boast of more than sixteen million acres in wheat; the annual output of its vineyards is valued at fifty million dollars; its herds of cattle and its fowl have increased one-third in numbers in a score of years; two million and a half of hives are scattered among the

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farms of France; it has given an example to the world in afforestation and draining, and the department of forestry receives close to five million dollars a year from the wood alone.

In science and invention, the record is no less creditable. France has led the world in the invention, manufacture and use of automobiles, of submarine boats, and of mobile heavy field artillery. The country is covered with a network of railroads whose roadbeds, bridges, and tunnels are models of engineering skill. To mention the Suez canal is to think of De Lesseps. The world looks upon Pasteur as one of its greatest benefactors.

The years since the war with Germany have been marked in France by an educational renaissance. Secondary education has been practically created. In fourteen years the number of children in the public schools has doubled. The University of Paris has been reorganized, and for the first time rival universities are being developed in the provinces, many of them possessing important local educational characteristics. There are signs not a few that the leadership in historical writing is passing from Germany to France. The best general history of Europe that exists is the work of French scholars, and a group of young French writers under the leadership of Lavisse are producing a history of France such as German scholars have not yet produced for their country.

France is still the artistic nation *par excellence*. In literature, painting, sculpture, and architecture she stands without a peer. The artistic spirit permeates the whole life of the people, and whatever their deft fingers touch is thereby transformed. It is not without reason that the young artists and architects of America fill the studios of Paris, or that Virot and Worth dictate to the women of the world the shape of their hats and the style of their gowns. The dictatorship is theirs by the right of superior merit, of the merit of genius. There is nothing to indicate that that artistic primacy is about to pass from France.

The world has changed much since the days when the legions of Cæsar conquered Gaul and made it a part of the civilized world. The Roman empire has disappeared; the primacy of the world has passed from Rome; the center of the world is no longer the inland sea that receives the waters of the Tiber. A world civilization has come into existence embracing continents, oceans, and peoples, and dwarfing in its magnitude the civilization of the olden

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VICTOR HUGO

After a painting by Bastian Lepage

ALEXANDER DUMAS, PÈRE

Photograph from life

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1906

time. States have been formed outstripping the empire of Rome in area and in population, and possessing a social unity such as Rome never dreamed of. In this world-society it is hardly probable that France will be able to play the dominating rôle that she played in Europe under Louis XIV. and Napoleon. Extent of territory, natural resources, population, and native energy are the conditions upon which world leadership must rest, and in these things France is unable to compete with several of the great world powers. Her leadership must be of another kind, and one, on the whole, that has a more lasting value. The future may see France fall to the place of a second-rate power, her armies and navies surpassed in numbers by those of England, Russia, Germany, and the United States, but this relative loss in political power need in no way diminish her primacy in all those things that in the past have made France truly great. In the world of literature, art, science, and philosophy she may continue to play the part in the society of the future that Greece played in the world of the Mediterranean basin.

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Translated from the French. One of the most important volumes on the Revolution written in the last century. Rocquain shows the part played by the parlements in bringing on the Revolution and in producing the crisis of 1789. The book is based upon a large amount of source material, some of which had never been used before.

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Very much prejudiced in favor of Napoleon. Contains good accounts of various campaigns and has some good plans of battles.

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The latest work on Napoleon in English and one of the best. Rose made use of unpublished British sources that had never been used before.

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Although not friendly to Napoleon, this is the best sketch of the man and his work that has ever been produced in English in the same compass (233 pages).

Seignobos, Charles.—"A Political History of Europe since 1814." New York, 1899.

This volume devotes about a hundred pages to the political history of France in the nineteenth century, and contains an excellent bibliography.

Sloane, W. M.—"Life of Napoleon Bonaparte." 4 vols. New York. 1896.

One of the fullest and best lives of Napoleon in English. It appeared originally as a serial in the *Century*, and bears some of the marks of its origin, especially in the interesting but fanciful illustrations that accompany it.

——"The French Revolution and Religious Reform." New York, 1901.

This volume is "based on the Morse lectures for 1900 before the Union Theological Seminary." It is the only book in English that deals with this subject, but one could conceive of a more helpful book in the same compass, with less discussion and more attention to what actually took place.

Sorel, Albert.—"Montesquieu." Chicago.

Another volume from the collection of "The Great French Writers" by one of the most brilliant of living French historians.

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This work treats the period from 1789 to, but not including, 1794. The best work in English on the Revolution, but very unequal in execution and in some parts unreliable.

Sybel, Heinrich von.—"History of the French Revolution." 4 vols. London, 1866-1868.

The title of the German work of which this is a translation is "History of the Revolutionary Period." It is the history of the Revolution and Europe, or the

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diplomatic history of the period 1789 to 1800. The work is based upon much diplomatic correspondence, unpublished at the time Sybel wrote. Although the same subject has been more fully treated by Sorel in the last fifteen years, Sybel's work is still the best in English.

Taine, H. A.—"The Revolution." 3 vols. New York, 1878-1885.

A brilliant piece of work, reactionary in its character and believed for a long time, and by many to-day, to contain the last word on the Revolution. Sober, critical study of the work has discredited both the methods and the theses of Taine. It should be read after one is sufficiently familiar with the facts of the period, as presented in the most recent histories, to be able to control Taine's generalizations.

Tarbell, Ida M.—"A Short Life of Napoleon." New York, 1895.

Valuable on account of its 250 illustrations.

——"Madame Roland." New York, 1896.

An excellent life, based upon a careful study of the sources.

Thiers, A.—"History of the French Revolution." 5 vols. London, 1853.

One of the earliest histories of the Revolution, the first edition being published in 1827, when Thiers was thirty years of age. It has passed through numberless editions and is still read, although as a piece of historical writing it has few merits apart from the brilliant style in which it is written.

——"History of the Consulate and the Empire of France Under Napoleon." 20 vols. London, 1845-1862.

A translation of Thiers' great work. Much more carefully done than the work on the Revolution, it was for a long time the most important life of Napoleon. It needs to be controlled by later and more critical works.

Tocqueville, Alexis.—"France Before the Revolution of 1789." London, 1856.

One of the best books ever written on the causes of the Revolution. Based upon much research, it is a safer guide than the volume by Taine.

White, Henry.—"The Massacre of St. Bartholomew." New York, 1871.

This volume covers the same ground as that covered by Baird, the purpose being to show the massacre of St. Bartholomew as the culmination of the wars in France.

Willert, P. F.—"Mirabeau." New York, 1898.

The best short life in English.

——"Henry of Navarre." New York, 1893.

Good short sketch.

——"The Reign of Louis the Eleventh." London, 1876.

A good brief account of this reign. A popular work and not a scientific treatise.

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A very valuable collection of sources for those who read only English or do not have access to the originals.

Bingham, D. A.—"A Selection from the Letters and Dispatches of the First Napoleon." 3 vols. London, 1884.

Bourienne, Louis.—"*Memoirs de Napoleon Bonaparte.*" Translated from the French. 4 vols. Crowell & Co., New York.

These volumes are the work—to what extent is not known, see the introduction—of Napoleon's private secretary. As Napoleon dismissed him in disgrace, the record was not made with any kindly feeling toward Napoleon. The

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volumes are used by historians in writing the life of Napoleon, but always carefully controlled by other sources.

Broglie, Duke of.—"The King's Secret; Being the Secret Correspondence of Louis XV. with his Diplomatic Agents from 1752 to 1774."

This volume contains the secret correspondence concerning foreign affairs that the king carried on for twenty-two years behind the backs of his ministers of foreign affairs and the regular French representatives abroad. Besides making one acquainted with the views of Louis XV. on foreign affairs, this collection casts a curious light upon the king's character and the governmental methods in France in the eighteenth century.

Busch, Moritz.—"Bismarck in the Franco-German War." 2 vols. New York, 1879.

Busch was in intimate touch with Bismarck for twenty-five years.

Commines, Philippe de.—"Memoirs." 2 vols. New York, 1890.

A contemporary account of the reigns of Louis XI. and Charles VIII. by the secretary of Louis XI. One of the most valuable sources of the period.

Eginhard.—"Life of Charlemagne." New York, 1880.

A translation of the Latin life of Charlemagne by his secretary, Eginhard. The little volume is well edited, with a brief life of Eginhard, a good map, and notes.

Froissart.—"Chronicles." New York, 1895.

An account of the period of the Hundred Years' War by a contemporary. One of the most important sources of the history of France in the fourteenth century.

Joinville, John de.—"Crusade of St. Louis," in "Chronicles of the Crusades," in the Bohn Library.

A contemporary account of the crusade.

Loyd, Lady Mary.—"New Letters of Napoleon I." New York, 1897.

Moltke, Helmuth von.—"The Franco-German War of 1870-1871." New York, 1892.

An account of the war written by the commander of the German armies.

Monstrelet.—"Chronicles." 2 vols. London, 1867.

A continuation of Froissart, recording the events of the fifteenth century of French history.

Morris, Gouverneur.—"Diary and Letters." 2 vols. New York, 1881.

Diary kept by Morris in Paris during the Revolution, and letters written from the same place. A valuable source.

Normanby, Marquis of.—"A Year of Revolution, from a Journal Kept in Paris in 1848." 2 vols. London, 1857.

A valuable source for the revolution of 1848. Normanby was the English ambassador in Paris at the time.

Pasquier, Etienne-Denis.—"A History of My Time," 1789-1815. 3 vols. New York, 1893, 1894.

Contemporary account by one high in authority under the empire and during the early restoration.

Rémusat, Madame de.—"Memoirs." 3 vols. New York, 1880.

The recollections of a brilliant member of the court of Napoleon I. concerning the life of the court and the peculiarities of the emperor.

Rigby.—"Dr. Rigby's Letters from France, etc., in 1789."

Rigby spent July and a part of August of 1789 in France, writing home accounts of what he had seen—and he saw much—while the impressions were still fresh.

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A daily record of the events of the last years of Louis XIV. and the first of Louis XV. kept by one of the most distinguished noblemen of the court.

Senior, Nassau William.—"Journals Kept in France and Italy from 1848 to 1852." 2 vols. London, 1871.

Senior was a distinguished Englishman who moved in the best circles in France and Italy, conversed with the leading statesmen and kept a record of their conversation, even having his records corrected by them.

——"Conversations with M. Thiers, M. Guizot, and Other Distinguished Persons During the Second Empire." 2 vols. London, 1878.

A continuation of the Journals.

Simon, Jules.—"The Government of M. Thiers, from the 8th of February, 1871, to the 24th of May, 1873." 2 vols. New York, 1878.

An account of Thiers' government written by a colleague and a friend. It is a valuable source.

Sully, Duke of.—"Memoirs." 4 vols. London, 1877.

The account of the age of Henry IV. written by the Duke of Sully, the minister of Henry and the man who was his chief instrument in reorganizing France after the religious wars.

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Talleyrand.—"Memoirs." 5 vols. New York, 1891-1892.

Published long after Talleyrand's death, this work raised a controversy among the historians concerning its genuineness. No conclusion was reached, but it is probable that the original text was tampered with.

Tarbell, Ida M.—"Napoleon's Addresses." Boston, 1897.

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Washburne, E. B.—"Recollections of a Minister to France." 2 vols. New York, 1887.

These are the recollections of a representative of the United States at the French court, covering the years 1867 to 1877.

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Probably the most valuable source in English on the condition of France at the outbreak of the Revolution. Young rode through the length and breadth of France, examining everything with the eyes of a trained observer and recording his observations each night in his note-book.

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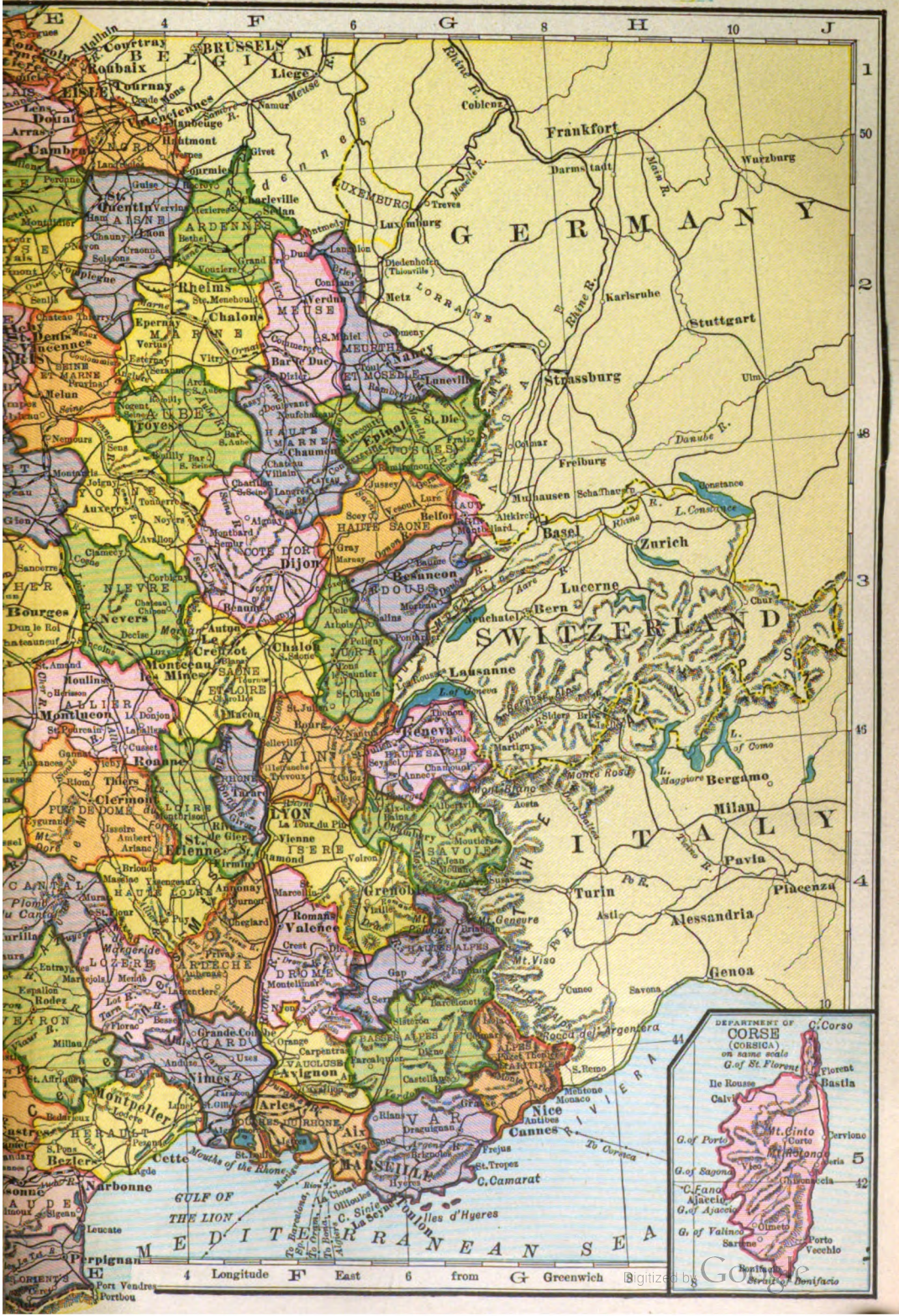

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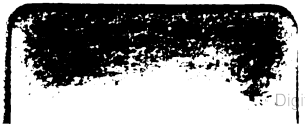

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